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**THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY
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THE
IOWA JOURNAL
OF
HISTORY AND POLITICS

EDITOR
BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

VOLUME XII
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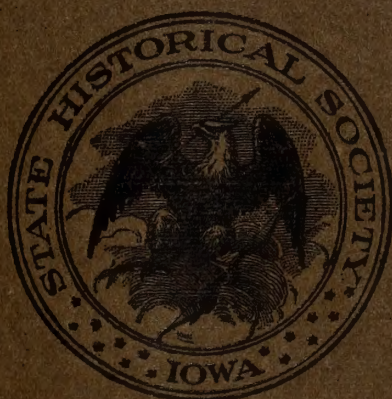
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VOL. XII—1

THE MORMON TRAILS IN IOWA

Rome, it is said, conquered barbarian nations by means of roads no less than by means of well-drilled armies. The nineteenth century conquest of the American West reminds one of this Old World story. A vast wilderness, once the haunt of Indians, the scene of their hunts and intertribal wars, has passed into the hands of hordes of persons impelled by the migratory instinct to forsake their homes in the Atlantic States, in Canada, and in European countries.

Ambitious, enterprising, and irrepressible, these emigrants everywhere cut their way through trackless forests, spanned bridgeless streams, and crossed roadless stretches of prairie. As if by magic they transformed unpeopled regions into prosperous farms and peaceful towns.

The reclamation of the country which constitutes the State of Iowa forms an interesting chapter in this romantic story of the conquest of the West. When the first wave of settlers from the East and South entered the Iowa country in the year 1833, rivers, ridges, and Indian trails offered the best and only means of access to the interior. Then, almost at once, the people's representatives in the legislature of Wisconsin Territory pushed the work of laying out suitable routes of travel across the lands so recently acquired from the Sac and Fox Indians.

Not until the "Iowa District" obtained from Congress a separate Territorial government, however, did the pioneers of this trans-Mississippi region receive proper legislative attention and fostering care. An extensive network of wagon roads then came into existence. When it is remembered that the inhabited portion of Iowa in 1846 consisted

only of the area east of the present city of Des Moines, and that the Territorial legislature authorized the establishment of nearly two hundred roadways by blazing trees in the timber, setting stakes in the prairie, and erecting mile-posts and guideboards, one can get a fairly adequate idea of the emphasis placed by pioneers upon the importance and need of avenues of communication between different parts of the new Iowa country.¹

But most important and most romantic of all the highways of Territorial Iowa were the Oregon trail and the Mormon trail — the first thoroughfares connecting the Mississippi and the Missouri banks of Iowa: the result, not of legislative intercession but of "land fever" and of persecution. Of the former trail nothing remains but the fact of its existence, but of the latter much has been written: such a mass of historical material, both fragmentary and misleading, and of local tradition has accumulated, fortified by modern county maps, that it is necessary to investigate and sift apparently conflicting details in order to fix, if possible, the course of the main and original routes of the Mormon hegira.

It was just a few months before Iowa became a member of the Union of States that the exodus of Mormons from western Illinois commenced. Expelled from their homes in Ohio and later from Missouri, these refugees had taken up their abode in Illinois and had built a prosperous community around their temple city of Nauvoo. Across the Mississippi River, in Iowa, they had bought part of the town of Keokuk, the whole of a town called Nashville six miles north, part of a settlement named Montrose four miles farther north, besides several thousands of acres of land in the notorious "Half-breed Tract", all in Lee Coun-

¹ See the *Laws of the Territory of Iowa from 1838 to 1846*, and the writer's article on *The Roads and Highways of Territorial Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. III, pp. 175-225.

ty. One hundred families of Mormons were said to be living in Iowa in 1840.²

How the Mormons created in the minds of their Illinois neighbors strong feelings of dislike and distrust is a story which requires no repetition here. Scarcely had they completed the building of their Holy Temple at Nauvoo when the storm of hate burst over their heads, involving the death of their prophet, Joseph Smith.

The upshot of the whole strife was that late in the year 1845 the Mormons under the leadership of Brigham Young promised their neighbors to depart "so soon as grass would grow and water run". They asked the citizens of Illinois to help them sell or rent their properties, thus enabling them to secure means to assist their widows, orphans, and poor to move on with the rest. They ventured to hope that "all men will let us alone with their vexatious law-suits". They advertised a willingness, and sent out agents, to exchange property for cash, drygoods, oxen, cattle, horses, sheep, and wagons; and they begged not to be subjected to further house-burnings or other depredations while they remained.³

The winter months were spent in "the most prodigious preparations for removal." Wagon and tent makers, blacksmiths, and carpenters — all were busy: "Nauvoo was constituted into one great wagon shop", and before spring hundreds of wagons were in readiness. Real estate was sold at extremely low prices,⁴ as was the case with all property.

Setting out for a land of promise in the Rocky Mountains

² Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 140. In a letter written by Governor Robert Lucas of Iowa these people were described as "generally considered industrious, inoffensive, and worthy citizens."

The article in *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 586-602, is based almost entirely on Bancroft's researches into Mormon sources.

³ *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Vol. III, p. 159.

⁴ Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, pp. 339, 344; and *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Vol. III, p. 161.

— at first they knew not where⁵— the refugees left Nauvoo, even sooner than they had contemplated.⁶ Early in the month of February, 1846, the twelve apostles with about two thousand followers were ferried across the broad Mississippi: wagons and teams in flat-boats and persons in smaller craft. After the 16th of February, owing to a sudden change of temperature, the emigrants could cross the river on ice.⁷ Landing in Iowa, they pushed on about nine miles and pitched camp in the snow, on Sugar Creek in Lee County. Here the company remained two or three weeks, daily receiving accessions, while snow fell heavily, the thermometer dropped to 20 degrees below zero, and supplies grew scarcer.⁸

At the camp on Sugar Creek (every halting-place of the president and twelve apostles was called "Camp of Isra-

⁵ Bancroft's *History of Utah*, pp. 214-217; Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 412; and Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, p. 359.

It was calculated that every family of five persons should prepare an outfit of one wagon, three yokes of oxen, two cows, two beef cattle, three sheep, one thousand pounds of flour, twenty pounds of sugar, a rifle and ammunition, a tent and tent-poles, from ten to twenty pounds of seed, from twenty-five to one hundred pounds of farming tools, and a few other items, at a cost of about \$250, including bedding and cooking utensils.

In the historical magazine *Americana* there has appeared a serial history of the Mormon Church by Brigham H. Roberts, Assistant Historian of the Church in Utah.— See Volume VII.

⁶ It is believed that the removal was hastened by the indictment of nine apostles for counterfeiting.— Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 413. But see *Americana*, Vol. VII, p. 74.

⁷ *Americana*, Vol. VII, p. 72; Hyde's *Mormonism*, p. 142; Lee's *Confessions* in Lewis's *The Mormon Menace*, p. 225; and Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 218.

⁸ For details of the march across Iowa the writer is indebted in the main to Bancroft's *History of Utah*, pp. 218-223; Roberts's account in *Americana*, Vol. VII, pp. 172-189; and Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, pp. 362-370. These historians, together with Charles Negus in the *Annals of Iowa*, are the chief authorities consulted with regard to the Mormon trails. Bancroft and Roberts furnish the reader rough sketches of the route of travel, but make no attempt at exactness.

One should like to know just where the Sugar Creek camp was pitched — whether it was west of Montrose, New Boston, or Charleston.

el'') Brigham Young "proved himself a general as well as a commander. He directed everything. Thousands were leaving; many destitute, and all poor". On the 17th of February he addressed his followers from a wagon. On March 1st, the refugees took up the line of march in five hundred wagons: "without confusion, without hurrying or even discord, their long trains rolled by him, while he comforted, inspirited, blessed, and counselled the weeping emigrants."⁹

Only five miles of country were traversed the first day. On the second they reached the eastern bank of the Des Moines River four miles below the village of Farmington,¹⁰ whose citizens, it is said, were delighted with the Mormon brass band. The course then lay along the river and a crossing was effected at "Bonaparte's Mills" on the 5th of March. For the reception and assistance of later followers this vanguard of two or three thousand Mormons stationed a permanent camp at Richardson's Point, fifty-five miles west of Nauvoo, near a branch of Chequest Creek.¹¹ Here the weary travelers rested, working for Iowa settlers in return for provisions and awaiting pleasanter weather, while several men were appointed hunters "as there was much game in the country — turkey, deer, and some elk."¹²

⁹ Hyde's *Mormonism*, p. 142.

¹⁰ Probably on the site of the present town of Croton. See *Journal of History* (Lamoni, Iowa), Vol. II, p. 106.

¹¹ *The Iowa Capitol Reporter*, April 1, 1846, quoting from *The Bloomington Herald*, told of an encampment on the Fox River in Davis County, "about fourteen miles above Keosauqua". This is probably a reference to Richardson's Point.

As to the route, Negus varies from all other authorities, declaring that the Mormons followed the Des Moines River until the western part of Van Buren County was reached. He must have been writing of later companies of Mormons. See *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IX, p. 578.

¹² *Journal of History*, Vol. II, p. 106. See also Lee's *Confessions* in Lewis's *The Mormon Menace*, p. 226.

Roberts's history in *Americana*, Vol. VII, pp. 178-182, contains a general account and sketch of the route through Iowa.

On the 19th of March the little army resumed its journey, and as the frozen ground of Territorial and county roads thawed out and spring rains began to fall, progress became slower and more difficult. Traversing the central townships of Davis County and crossing the Fox River a little above Bloomfield, they struck an old Mormon trail of 1838 that led from Caldwell County, Missouri, to Muscatine, Iowa. This trail they followed as far as the Chariton River in Appanoose County, where they established their second permanent camp in a large body of timber.¹³ Detained by a swollen river from March 22 until April 1, the pioneer band then went in a southwest direction, camping upon Shoal or Locust Creek in the southeastern corner of Wayne County on the 6th of April. Here it was decided to locate another permanent camp.¹⁴

Thus far the exiles had been laboring through the sparsely settled counties of the Territory over more or less well-defined roadways, however bad. Wayne County was the

¹³ The writer is indebted for this information to Mr. Heman C. Smith, historian of the church at Lamoni, Iowa. He adds: "I do not know just where to locate the large body of timber, but I think it was a little above Centerville, as the old trail they were following would bring them somewhere near that point."

Negus states that the Mormons passed through the northern parts of Davis and Appanoose counties, and then divided and followed the highlands on both sides of the Chariton River. He must have been writing of later bands of Mormons.

On page 273 of the 1904 *Atlas of Iowa*, compiled by the Iowa Publishing Company of Davenport, a writer asserts that the Mormons on their way from Missouri to Illinois "left so well beaten a road that it was known by first settlers, and for years, as the Mormon trail." That there was a well-defined trail in this neighborhood in 1843 is shown by the fact that the legislature appointed three commissioners to lay out a Territorial road from Iowaville to the Missouri boundary "where the Mormon trace crosses the line."—*Laws of Iowa*, 1843-1844, p. 92.

¹⁴ Mr. Heman C. Smith declares that the first Mormons passed through this region and that their marching in a southwesterly direction is accounted for by the existence of the earlier trail. The accounts of Roberts and Bancroft accord, but Negus does not. The former had access to Elder Orson Pratt's observations and diary.

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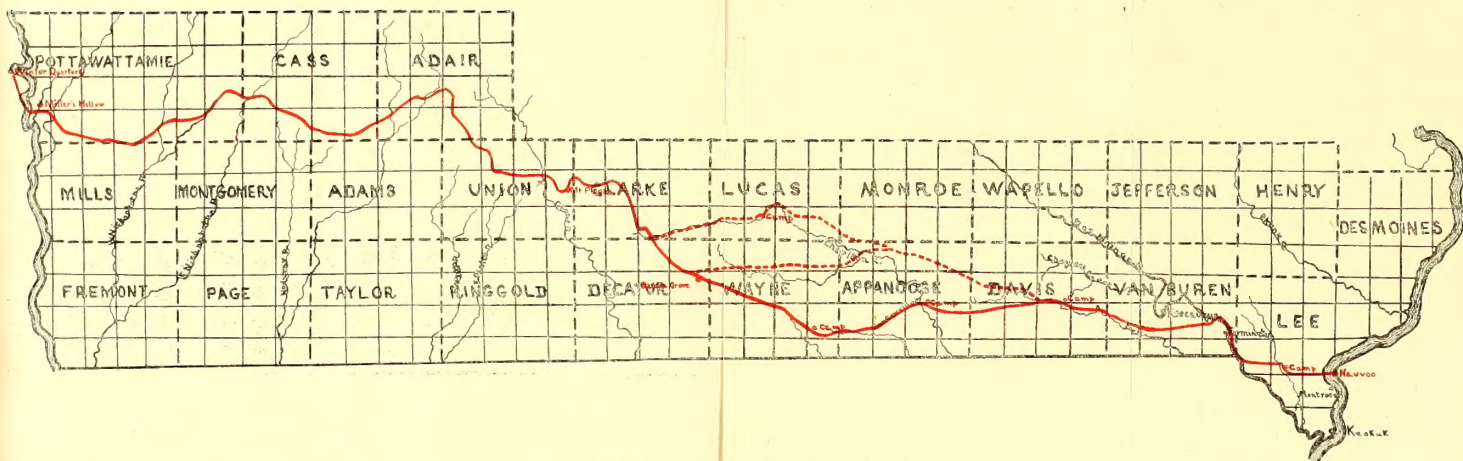
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THE MORMON TRAILS ACROSS IOWA

— Pioneer or "Camp of Israel" Mormon Trail

- - - - - Later Mormon Trails

“jumping off place”: henceforth the Mormons were going into an unknown, unpeopled, trackless wilderness, the domain of wild animals and Pottawattamie Indians. Bidding farewell to Iowa’s western frontier line of settlements, they journeyed northwestward and entered Decatur County, then but recently surveyed and established. In this newly-opened region stretching to the Missouri River it became necessary to appoint a small party of “pioneers” to go in advance of the main body, to explore the route, blaze the trail, seek suitable camping sites, and make fords and bridges,¹⁵ for progress became exasperatingly slow. On the 24th of April one of the elders jotted down the following entry in his diary:

Yesterday we traveled about eight miles, to-day, six miles. We came to a place which we named Garden Grove. At this point we determined to form a small settlement, and open farms for the benefit of the poor, and such as were unable, at present, to pursue their journey further and also for the benefit of the poor who were yet behind.

Thus, after a toilsome journey through prolonged rains and deep mud, the Mormons established Garden Grove. On the 27th of April, “at the sound of the horn”, the emigrants gathered to organize for labor. One hundred men were chosen to fell trees, split them into rails, and set up zig-zag fences; forty-eight were set to cutting logs for log-houses; several were detailed to build a bridge; others dug wells; some made wood for plows; a few watched the flocks of sheep and herds of cattle; while a small party was despatched on an expedition into Missouri to exchange property for cows, provisions, and other necessities. The remaining members of the party were directed to plant and sow the crops that later comers should reap.¹⁶

¹⁵ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IX, p. 578; and *Americana*, Vol. VII, p. 184.

¹⁶ *Journal of History*, Vol. II, pp. 110, 188; Lee’s *Confessions* in Lewis’s *The Mormon Menace*, pp. 229, 230; and *Americana*, Vol. VII, p. 187.

On the 11th of May the pioneers once more set their long wagon trains moving and proceeded northwestward. Game became very scarce, "thinned out by a tribe of Indians, called Pottawattamies, whose trails and old camping-grounds were to be seen in every direction." Near the middle fork of Grand River, in what is to-day Union County, they concluded, on May 18th, to establish another settlement. They all fell to building, ploughing, planting, and fencing, and completed a vast amount of work in a few days' time. On account of the hilly nature of the spot they named the place Mt. Pisgah.¹⁷

Towards the end of May "most of the Twelve, with large companies, proceeded in a westerly direction." In order to get a level road and to avoid the crossing of numerous small streams, they were compelled to bear northward to about the center of Adair County, "passing by what was known, in early days, as Sargent's Grove, in Adair County, and Campbell's Grove, in Cass County." Their course lay through the southern part of what is to-day Cass County, past an Indian village on the East Nishnabotna River, and thence through the southern part of the present county of Pottawattamie, reaching Indian Creek on the 14th of June. Here, within the present limits of Council Bluffs the travel-worn exiles rested for a while, but soon ferried themselves and their animals and wagons across the Missouri: Winter Quarters, on the site of Florence, Nebraska, became their main encampment.¹⁸

¹⁷ *Journal of History*, Vol. II, pp. 189, 190.

The Pottawattamie Indians were not removed from western Iowa until after June, 1846. Although fearing their hostility, the Mormons encountered nothing but good will.

¹⁸ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IX, p. 579. The trail as laid down by Negus from Mt. Pisgah westward accords with the trail as described in detail by Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department, who traced the old route over township roads and farmers' fields with the aid of the original surveys of the western counties. The Mormon trail "came to be noted by the first surveyors in the

Such, then, in a general way, was the route of the first or pioneer band of Mormons — it was the trail of the path-breakers. As the slow-moving horse and mule teams and heavy-gaited oxen had drawn their exiled owners across the Territory of Iowa, log-cabin villages sprang up for the accommodation of later Mormon emigrants. To quote from the church historian: "Thus the 'Camp of Israel' had become a veritable marching, industrial column; founding settlements as it marched; planting for others to harvest, and leaving behind them within easy reach bases of supplies that insured their own safety in case of emergency."¹⁹ The life and experiences of the emigrants for five months on that three-hundred-mile stretch of sparsely settled or wholly uninhabited country would supply materials for a separate volume: the description of a journey begun in mid-winter, over snow-covered roads and frozen ground, "with arctic weather and all the inconveniences of ice, rain, and mud until May," must be left to the imagination of the reader.²⁰

During all these months of the year 1846 the roads of eastern Iowa were alive with Mormon emigrants. It was soon discovered that the pioneer or "Camp of Israel" route was unnecessarily circuitous, and so another trail invited

same way that they noted streams or other visible land marks." See an interesting report in the *Twelfth Annual Conference of the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution*, pp. 29-36. The members of this organization have taken up the commendable work of marking the trails which became important factors as avenues of emigration to the West.

¹⁹ *Americana*, Vol. VII, p. 186.

²⁰ See Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, p. 364.

Thomas L. Kane, who lectured before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1850, presented a lucid picture of the burials along the road. He tells how coffins were made of bark stripped from trees, and adds: "The name of the beloved person, his age, the date of his death, and these marks were all registered with care. . . . Such graves mark all the line of the first year of the Mormon travel — dispiriting milestones to failing stragglers in the rear." — *Journal of History*, Vol. II, pp. 108, 109.

more travel than the first. Later Nauvoo emigrants left the old trail at the crossing of the Fox River in Davis County and bore across the northeastern corner of Appanoose County, following the highlands along the Chariton River through Monroe and into Lucas County. Here, at a point about one and a half miles south of Chariton, they fixed a camp, and then continued westward to a place about six miles south of the present town of Osceola, Clarke County, where they struck and followed the original trail to Winter Quarters.²¹

Even this new trail north of the Chariton River was not exclusively used, for in that event the Mormon settlement at Garden Grove would have served no purpose whatever. Accordingly a third route became established in the northern townships of Wayne County: the main road there to-day is known as "Mormon Trail".²² Modern roads similarly designated in other counties are best regarded as auxiliary routes which perhaps received the name because a small

²¹ Charles Negus, who probably traveled upon this later trail, roughly indicated what Mr. Harlan has presented in detail. Compare their accounts in *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IX, p. 578; and the proceedings of the *Twelfth Annual Conference of the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution*, pp. 33, 34. Negus, however, gives one the impression that the pioneer Mormon band of two or three thousand persons divided near the western border of Appanoose County, followed the highlands on each side of the Chariton River, and re-united in Clarke County, when the fact is they proceeded together as has been indicated: later companies of Mormons selected the northern route.

In the proceedings of the *Twelfth Annual Conference of the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution*, pp. 34, 35, Mr. Harlan lays down a route which traverses the eastern settled counties of Iowa and which joins the Mormon Trail referred to in the land surveys of Monroe County and beyond. He does not, however, ascribe to this road the name of Mormon Trail, but believes it was most frequented by emigrants to the Far West. Mr. Harlan's location of the trail north of the Chariton River is supported by the 1904 maps of Lucas and Clarke counties: in one the modern highway is known as "Mormon Trace Road" and in the other as "Mormon Trail".

²² See map of Wayne County in the *Atlas of Iowa* (1904), compiled by the Iowa Publishing Company.

Mr. Heman C. Smith corroborates this information concerning the northern route.

body of Mormon proselytes happened to pass that way.²³ Indeed, many such went through Des Moines.

In July of the year 1846 fifteen thousand Mormons were said to be encamped or toiling along the Iowa trails westward, with 3,000 wagons, 30,000 head of cattle, horses, and mules, and a vast number of sheep.²⁴ Indeed, at one time no less than two thousand covered wagons could be counted. On the 17th of September the last Mormons evacuated Nauvoo, terror-stricken by the military preparations and threats of their bellicose neighbors. They comprised a miserable remnant of about seven hundred people, physically unfit and poorly equipped, and they lay huddled at a camp north of Montrose until wagons arrived for them from Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah in October.²⁵

²³ Such as the "Mormon Ridge" in Marshall County. Local traditions have been responsible for much of the confusion incident to a study of the Mormon exodus through Iowa.

²⁴ Bancroft's *History of Utah*, p. 221; Ford's *History of Illinois*, p. 412, where the number of persons who had crossed the Mississippi in May is placed at 16,000; and Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, p. 365. On p. 345, there is a record "that the ferries at Nauvoo and at Fort Madison were each taking across an average of 35 teams in twenty-four hours. For the week ending May 22 he reported the departure of 539 teams and 1617 persons; and for the week ending May 29, the departure of 269 teams and 800 persons, and he said he counted the day before 617 wagons in Nauvoo ready to start."

The *Nauvoo Eagle*, July 10, 1846, printed an interview with a person who had left the Mormons on June 26th. The advance company including the Twelve, with a train of 1000 wagons, was then encamped on the east bank of the Missouri, the men busily building boats. The second company, 3000 strong, were at Mt. Pisgah, recruiting their cattle for a new start. The third company had halted at Garden Grove. Between this place and the Mississippi the *Eagle's* informant counted more than 1000 wagons. He estimated the total number of teams engaged in this movement at about 3700, and the number of persons on the road at 12,000. It seems that from 2000 to 3000 Mormons had left Nauvoo for other regions, some joining the Strangites at Voree, Wisconsin.—Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, p. 369. See also *The Bloomington Herald*, May 8, 1846; and Niles's *National Register*, May 30, 1846, Vol. LXX, p. 208.

²⁵ Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, p. 350; Lee's *Confessions* in Lewis's *The Mormon Menace*, p. 230; and *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Vol. III, pp. 172, 173, 177, containing an extract from a lecture delivered by Colonel Kane before the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

It was while the Mormons were scattered along the river-to-river trails that James Allen, a United States army officer, arrived at Mt. Pisgah from Fort Leavenworth to enlist volunteers for the Mexican War. Accompanied by Brigham Young, he proceeded to the camp on the Missouri River, opened a recruiting office and secured five companies of one hundred men each. An ex-elder of the Mormon Church asserted afterwards: "Money was needed to enable them to move. Their design they desired to cloak under a sham patriotism. The United States offered \$20,000 bounty money, and Brigham recruited a regiment, persuaded, commanded them to leave their families, many of them perfectly destitute, and join General Scott's Army, then in Mexico, and they obeyed."²⁶

For several years the trail across the State of Iowa guided hundreds of Mormons to the new asylum of their church amid the Rocky Mountains. Mormons in Lee County, Iowa, found no more favor with their neighbors than had their brethren in Illinois. Many were the crimes charged to them, and at a mass-meeting the citizens resolved that the Mormons must depart from their community. In 1847, it is said, "the last of these objectionable people left the county."²⁷

For five years the Mormons were in almost exclusive occupation and control of the present counties of Mills and Pottawattamie. After the camp at Winter Quarters broke up in the spring of 1847, those who did not accompany Brigham Young westward recrossed the Missouri to live at

Kane was an eyewitness of much of the Mormon life in Iowa, but authorities are inclined to think he sacrificed accuracy to word pictures.

See also Bancroft's *History of Utah*, pp. 231, 234.

²⁶ Hyde's *Mormonism*, p. 143; Linn's *The Story of the Mormons*, p. 370; *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints*, Vol. III, p. 191; and *Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers*, Vol. VI, p. 826.

²⁷ *History of Lee County, Iowa*, pp. 470, 477, 479, 481. See also Niles's *National Register*, October 17 and 24, 1846, Vol. LXXI, pp. 99, 124.

“Miller’s Hollow” in Iowa. This place, later called Kaneshville and, after 1853, Council Bluffs, became an important rendezvous for western emigrants, rivalling the town of Independence, Missouri, on the Oregon Trail. Emigrants to Oregon and California who preferred not to go so far south to reach the old Oregon Trail had only one alternative: the Iowa roads which converged upon the Mormon Trail in the western counties. Hence they arrived at the chief Mormon town, halted for equipment and supplies, and then hastened on to find homesteads or gold.

Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah, little farming and business communities in the midst of an almost uninhabited country, remained in the hands of their Mormon founders until the spring of 1852.²⁸ They were resting-places for emigrating hosts of Mormon converts from eastern States and European countries,²⁹ especially England; for it is a noteworthy fact that from the first the Mormons have been zealous missionaries in foreign lands, spreading no little dismay and alarm among the educated classes. John Hyde, in company with nearly four hundred fellow proselytes, sailed from Liverpool to New Orleans in 1853 and ascended the Mississippi to Keokuk, Iowa.³⁰ There, on a hill overlooking the

²⁸ Though Garden Grove and Mt. Pisgah passed into the hands of Gentiles, the surrounding country is to-day largely in possession of Mormons who dissented from the rule of Brigham Young and his polygamous adherents. In 1853 they called themselves the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, the original church of Joseph Smith, whose son Joseph has been their president since 1860. At the city of Lamoni in Decatur County they maintain a college, church offices, and a large publishing house.—*Journal of History*, Vol. II, p. 190.

²⁹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, pp. 596–600; *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. IX, p. 580; and *Journal of History*, Vol. II, pp. 112, 190.

In 1856 a company of several hundreds of men, women, and children—Mormon proselytes from England—arrived at Iowa City and were fitted out with hand-carts, which they dragged westward, with terrible suffering and loss of life.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, p. 599; and Paxson’s *The Last American Frontier*, pp. 100, 101.

³⁰ Hyde’s *Mormonism*, p. 19.

city and the majestic river, he found a "camp thronging with life, there being nearly two thousand five hundred Mormons preparing to start for the plains." Indeed, the stream of emigration westward set in with a rush after the Mexican War had ended.

Thus thousands of Mormon refugees, fleeing from persecution in Illinois, passed over Iowa's Territorial roads and highways into an Indian country beyond, and opened up for themselves a thoroughfare which guided hundreds and thousands of later homeseekers to the fertile valleys and plains of Nebraska, Utah, California, and Oregon — indeed to the whole American West. Not only did the Mormons mark the first great Iowa route from the Mississippi to the Missouri, but they founded settlements along the way, the first places of permanent habitation in the western half of Iowa.

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THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

HISTORY OF THE CODES OF IOWA LAW

VI

THE PRIVATE CODES

As was stated in the first paper of this series, a code, in the proper sense of the term, is a reduction to writing of all the law of the realm, systematically arranged and officially sanctioned by legislative authority. Such a code has not yet been made in Iowa, but the statute law has been compiled several times in the various official "codes" published by the authority of the State. In addition to the compilations just mentioned, moreover, there have been others, published as private undertakings,¹ in which an at-

¹ Digests of the Iowa reports have been published by the following: J. F. Dillon, 1860; W. G. Hammond, 1866; J. F. Lacey, 1871; Withrow and Stiles, 1874-5; E. H. Stiles, 1879 and 1883; J. S. McCaughan, 1887; Hunter and Meyer, 1874 (Index to Iowa Reports); Henry Binmore, 1887 (Index of Cases and Citations); Emlin McClain, 1887 and 1898; and S. H. Fairall, 1892 (Reference Digest).—See *Check List of the Publications of the State of Iowa*, 1904, p. 56.

In addition, Mr. J. F. Lacey, in 1875, published *A Digest of Railway Decisions*; and the West Publishing Co. has published the *Northwestern Reporter Digest*.

The reports of the Supreme Court of Iowa now (1913) fill 153 volumes, in addition to a volume published by W. J. A. Bradford in 1840; one published by E. Morris; four by G. Greene; and eight published by C. C. Cole. The last mentioned eight volumes are reprints of Vols. I-VIII of the State reports, and were published by Mills and Company of Des Moines. Considerable information may be found concerning them in *The Western Jurist* of the following dates: August, 1878, pp. 508, 509; September, 1879, p. 425; June, 1879, p. 287; July, 1881, p. 336; April, 1874, pp. 251, 252; May, 1874, p. 320; November, 1874, p. 698.

Mills and Company also advertised a reprint of the *Report of the Code Commission* in 1871. The announcement of this reprint is to be found in *The Western Jurist*, October, 1871, p. 480.

There are a number of excellent articles of interest to the student of Iowa jurisprudence. Among these may be mentioned: *The Relation Between General*

tempt was made to collect all the existing statutes of the State then in force, or all the statutes relating to some particular subject.

It will not be possible, within the limits of this paper, to give a history of any of these private compilations except those that have been popularly termed "codes". Hence, the various digests, manuals, and text-books, though con-

History and the History of Law, by Eugene Wambaugh, in *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Constitution of Iowa*, 1907, pp. 85-112; *Light Reading for Law Students*, by Eugene Wambaugh, in *The Law Bulletin of the State University of Iowa*, No. 2, pp. 28-31; *Historical Bibliography of the Statute Law of Iowa*, by T. L. Cole, in *The Law Bulletin of the State University of Iowa*, No. 2, pp. 38-48; *The Science of Jurisprudence*, by Dr. Hannis Taylor, in *Proceedings of the Iowa State Bar Association*, Vol. 13, pp. 105-115.

In *The Western Jurist* may be found a number of articles on codification, and various book reviews. Among these may be mentioned *Codification of the Laws*, by David Dudley Field, Vol. V, 1871, pp. 49-60, also articles on pp. 289-292, 520, and 522 of the same volume; *Codification — Is It Practicable?*, 1878, pp. 641-658; editorial on codification, 1881, pp. 205, 206; *Statutes and Session Laws of Iowa*, 1879, p. 32.

In Ebersole's *Encyclopedia of Iowa Law*, Section 32, pp. 13, 14, a short account of the statutes of this State may be found. The title of this work is *The Iowa People's Law Book*, but it is rarely mentioned by any other name than *Encyclopedia of Iowa Law*.

Among the text books and other works relating to, or containing, Iowa law may be mentioned the following, which is by no means a complete list:

John W. Templin's *A Compendium of Repeals and Amendments*, 1871, 2nd edition (with table of cases), 1878. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, June, 1877, p. 382.

James D. Templin's *Abridgment of Decisions by the Supreme Court of Iowa*, 1874. Commented on in *The Western Jurist*, September, 1874, p. 569. See also August, 1874, p. 510.

Field's *A Treatise on the County and Township Officers of Iowa*, 1875. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, August, 1874, p. 512. See also p. 570, and February, 1875, p. 126.

Ebersole's *Encyclopedia of Iowa Law*, 1900, and supplement of 1905.

Ross's *Manual of Forms, Adapted to the Code System of Iowa*, 1882. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, April, 1882, p. 207.

Weaver's *Iowa: Its Constitution and Laws*, 1912.

Conklin's *A Treatise on the Powers and Duties of Justices of the Peace*, 1867. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, October, 1867, p. 336. 2nd edition, 1874, by Conklin and Bissell. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, May, 1874, pp. 316, 317.

Kinne on *Pleading and Practice*, 1888. Revised edition, 2 vols., 1898.

Jones's *Iowa Supreme Court Practice*, 1904.

taining much of the law in force in Iowa, and though often in the form of a code, can not be considered. Nor will it be possible to notice the writings and opinions of learned jurists, which deal with or interpret the laws of this Commonwealth. The discussion will be confined to a short description of the five leading "private codes" of the State.

It is a remarkable fact that all of these five works appeared between the years 1875 and 1892, or during the

Laws of Iowa Relating to Railways, Express Companies, Etc., 1899. (Appendix to *Railroad Commissioner's Report*, 1899.)

Miller's *A Treatise on Pleading and Practice*, 1868. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, December, 1868, pp. 387, 388.

Kagy's *The Iowa Probate Guide*, 1870. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, December, 1870, p. 490.

Herrick and Doxsee's *Probate Law and Practice*, 2nd edition, 1898.

Holmes's *Probate Law and Practice*.

Wambaugh's *The Study of Cases*, 1892.

The Law Bulletin of the State University of Iowa, 42 numbers, bound in 5 volumes.

Field's *The Iowa Constable's Guide*, 1879. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, June, 1879, p. 281.

Holmes's *Township Laws of the State of Iowa*. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, March, 1877, p. 192.

Fairall's *Township Laws of Iowa*, 1902.

Porter's *The Iowa Probate Manual*, 1873. Reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, January, 1874, p. 62. See also pp. 127, 128, and 568, 569.

Aitchison's *Annotations to Iowa Decisions*, 1902.

Hammon's *A Treatise on Chattel Mortgages for Iowa*, 1900.

Hayes's *The Justice Practice of Iowa* (Civil and Criminal), 1909.

Jaggard's *The Law of Taxation in Iowa*, 1902.

Robinson's *A Reference Work on Iowa Justice Practice*, 1908.

Wood's *Iowa Justices' Form Book*, 1871, 1877, 1885.

Horn's *A Practical Guide for Justices of the Peace and Constables*, 1854.

Selover on Negotiable Instruments, 1905.

Winslow's *Forms of Pleading and Practice*, 2 vols., 1906.

The Northwestern Reporter. Contains reports of Iowa cases decided in the Supreme Court since 1879.

School Law Revision. Report of Commissioners of Revision. 1856. Contained in *Iowa Documents*, 1856.

Statutes and Rules, Supreme Court, 1839, 1840, 1857, 1870, 1877, 1886, 1897, 1904.

Addresses before the Law Department of the State University of Iowa: John F. Dillon, *Our Law, Its Essential Nature and Ethical Foundations and Relations*, 1893; Frank O. Lowden, *The Lawyer's Allegiance to the Law*,

existence of the *Code of 1873* as the official publication of the State. The first three of these private works dealt only with the law on particular subjects, while the last two covered the entire field of statutory law.

THE OVERTON CODE

The first private code to appear was *The Annotated Code of Civil Practice for Wisconsin and Iowa*, compiled by Mr. D. Y. Overton of Burlington, which was published in 1875. Mr. Overton, the author, was born near Morristown, New Jersey, on October 31, 1822. His admission to the bar was

1894; Smith McPherson, *The Lawyer and the Judge*, 1896; Peter S. Grosseup, *Popular Self Mastery: The Duty of the Lawyers Toward Their Profession*, 1897. David J. Brewer, *Income Tax Cases*, 1898.

Opinions of the Attorney General. In *Iowa Documents*, 1868, Vol. II; 1870, Vol. II.

Auditor of State: *Insurance Laws*, 1873; *Amendments to Insurance Laws*, 1874; *Revenue Laws*, 1873, 1880, 1893, 1897, 1901; *Banking Laws*, 1900, 1902. *Journal of Constitutional Convention*, 1844.

Journal of Constitutional Convention, 1846.

Journal of Constitutional Convention, 1857.

The Debates of the Constitutional Convention, 1857, 2 vols.

General Assembly of Iowa: *House Journal*, 1838-1913; *Council Journal*, 1838-1846; *Senate Journal*, 1846-1913.

Historical Department of Iowa: Shambaugh's *History of the Constitutions of Iowa*, 1902; and reprints of various laws and public documents.

Iowa Documents, 1856-1913. Most of these have been printed separately.

Session Laws, 1838-1913.

Mining Laws, 1897, 1901, 1903.

School Laws, 1849, 1851, 1855, 1858, 1860, 1862, 1864, 1866.

School Laws and Decisions, 1868, 1872, 1874, 1876, 1880, 1884, 1888, 1892, 1897, 1902.

Acts, resolutions, and forms adopted by the Board of Education at their first session held in Des Moines, 1858.

Railroad Commissioners: *Statutes Relating to Railways*, 1900; *Laws of Iowa Relating to Railways, Express Companies, etc.*, 1900.

Secretary of State: *Road Laws*, 1864, 1870, 1874, 1880, 1891, 1900, 1903; *Election Laws*, 1883, 1893; *Incorporation Laws*, 1890, 1894, 1902; *Duties of Township Trustees*, 1893; *Mulct or Saloon Laws*, 1894; *Fish and Game Law*, 1894, 1898, 1900, 1902.

State Historical Society of Iowa: Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, 3 Vols., 1897-1901; Shambaugh's *Constitution and Records of the Claim Association of Johnson County*, 1894; Shambaugh's

gained in 1852 in the State of New York, and there he practiced until 1857. In the latter year he removed to Burlington, Iowa, where he became active in various municipal enterprises.²

The book was brought out by the law publishing firm of Callaghan and Company of Chicago, but appears to have been printed by Atwood & Culver of Madison, Wisconsin.³ It contains seven hundred and sixty-seven pages and embraces the codes of civil procedure of Iowa and Wisconsin. The work is annotated throughout, containing citations to the decisions in the first thirty-five volumes of the Iowa reports and to the first thirty-three volumes of the Wisconsin reports. Various annotations are also taken from the reports of Kansas and New York.⁴ In an appendix at the close of the work may be found the rules of the Supreme and Circuit Courts of Wisconsin, of the Supreme Court of Iowa, and of certain District and Circuit Courts of this State. The rules differed in the various districts of Iowa; no rules were obtainable in many cases; while the Sixth District had no rules, being governed entirely by the Code.⁵ The work also contains an index and a table of *Cases Cited*.

This work does not appear to have met with an extended use, and must be classed as one of the minor works on Iowa jurisprudence.

The Constitution of the State of Iowa, with an historical introduction, 1902; 2nd edition, 1907; Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, 7 Vols.; Shambaugh's *Fragments of the Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846*.

The Western Jurist, 1867-1882.

Proceedings Iowa State Bar Association, 1874-1881; 1895-1912.

² *The History of Des Moines County, Iowa*, 1879, p. 655.

³ Overton's *The Annotated Code of Civil Practice for Wisconsin and Iowa*, p. 767.

⁴ Overton's *The Annotated Code of Civil Practice for Wisconsin and Iowa*, preface.

⁵ Overton's *The Annotated Code of Civil Practice for Wisconsin and Iowa*, p. 676.

THE STACY CODE

The next private attempt to codify a part of Iowa's statutory law came in 1878, when the firm of Mills and Company, law publishers at Des Moines, brought out *The Code of Civil Procedure of the State of Iowa*, compiled by J. S. Stacy. This work was merely a reprint of certain parts of the *Code of 1873*, as revised by subsequent General Assemblies. In addition, citations to the decisions of the Supreme Court are given under the section when such section is interpreted in the decision, and reference is also made at the end of each section to prior codes containing a similar section.⁶

Mr. J. S. Stacy, the compiler of this work, was a resident of Anamosa, Iowa. He was born in DeKalb, New York, on May 13, 1833. After preparatory work at an Academy at Gouverneur, New York, he spent some time at Oberlin College and later at Union College, from which he graduated in 1857. Coming to Iowa in 1858, he was admitted to the bar and engaged in the active practice of the law. Mr. Stacy served one term as County Judge of Jones County and was a staunch Republican in politics, having been a delegate to the National Convention which nominated Lincoln in 1864.⁷

In the preface of this volume Mr. Stacy declares that "the object of this compilation is to provide, in a compact form, and revised to date, the statutes relating to Civil Procedure in Iowa". He also states that some errors found in the official edition of the Code had been corrected.

⁶ Stacy's *The Code of Civil Procedure for the State of Iowa*, preface. This work was in two editions. The one described in this article was the regular law-book size, with very wide margins on each page. The pocket edition was the same work without the margins. The larger work sold for \$6.00 and the pocket edition for \$4.00. This work is reviewed and described in the following numbers of *The Western Jurist*: July, 1878, p. 448; August, 1878, pp. 509, 510; September, 1878, p. 575.

⁷ *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men*, 1878 (Iowa Volume), pp. 325, 326.

This volume, as to contents, can easily be described. Titles one and three in part one, titles thirteen to twenty-three, inclusive, in parts two and three have been taken from the *Code of 1873*. There is also a table of corresponding sections covering the *Code of 1851*, the *Revision of 1860*, and the *Code of 1873*; and an index of considerable proportions. The pages are printed in small type and fully one-half the page is left in margins, the purpose being to provide room for annotations and amendments.⁸

DAVIS'S CRIMINAL CODE

A work contemporaneous with the one just described, and apparently a companion volume to it, is the *Iowa Criminal Code and Digest*, compiled by Mr. J. C. Davis of Marion, Iowa, and published in 1879 by Mills and Company. This work, containing six hundred and seventy-eight pages, covers the criminal code, but differs radically from the Stacy Code in arrangement and form.

The author, Mr. J. C. Davis, was born in Baden, Germany, on September 15, 1843, and came with his parents to Linn County in 1852. After having studied law in the office of Mr. Thomas Corbett, he gained admission to the bar in July, 1863. Mr. Davis served as County Attorney of Linn County and several terms as Mayor of Marion.⁹

This code is divided into two main parts. The first part is devoted to the crimes and offenses known to Iowa law, and the second part contains the statutes relating to criminal procedure. Unlike Stacy's Code, this volume does not attempt a reprint of a part of the *Code of 1873*. In part one the various crimes are taken up in alphabetical order, commencing with *Abduction* and ending with *Violating Regulations of the Board of Health*. Under each crime will be found the code section or sections relating thereto, a form

⁸ Stacy's *The Code of Civil Procedure for the State of Iowa*, preface.

⁹ *Portrait and Biographical Album of Linn County, Iowa*, 1887, pp. 309, 310.

of indictment or information covering the offense, and a short list of annotations of cases which involve the crime. These annotations are not limited to Iowa cases, but are taken from a large number of other States.

In part two, which is entitled *Criminal Pleading and Practice*, the same arrangement is followed. It will thus be seen that the plan adopted in the official Code has been widely departed from. At the close of part two is a table of the criminal cases contained in the Iowa reports, including those from Morris to the forty-sixth volume of the Iowa reports, inclusive. There may also be found a *Table of Topics*, listing the various crimes, and under each crime there is a list of the Iowa cases dealing with that particular crime.

The field covered by this work is best indicated in the words of the author. He writes:

Not only the law under the Criminal Code will be found reproduced, but twenty-eight sections of the Civil Code, sixteen sections of the Laws of 1874, nine sections of the Laws of 1876, and fifty-six sections of the Laws of 1878, all applicable to criminal procedure, are included, thus rendering reference to the Code and Session Laws unnecessary; and every criminal case, in Morris (one volume), G. Greene (four volumes), Iowa (forty-six volumes), and opinions filed (not yet in reports), to July 1, 1878. There will, also, be found a chapter, each, on Bastardy, Contempt, Habeas Corpus, and Mayors' Courts, in Criminal proceedings. Also, the usual Table of Cases, and in addition a Topical Table of Cases, not found in law books generally.¹⁰

The three private compilations just described do not appear to have ever met with a very extended use. The appearance in 1880 of complete compilations of the statutes, with annotations, evidently cut short their existence as

¹⁰ Davis's *Iowa Criminal Code and Digest*, preface. This work is reviewed in *The Western Jurist*, May, 1879, p. 237. The original price of the volume was \$7.50, but it was reduced to \$6.50 shortly after publication.—*The Western Jurist*, June, 1879, p. 287.

reference works. It is very rarely that one finds these works ever referred to, and it does not appear that they ever received official recognition, as did the codes of Miller and McClain.

THE MILLER CODE

One of the most successful private codifications of Iowa law was the *Revised and Annotated Code of Iowa*, compiled by Judge William E. Miller, and published by Mills and Company of Des Moines in 1880. This work was contemporaneous with a code prepared by Justice Emlin McClain and there appears to have been a bitter controversy between the publishers of these two compilations.¹¹

Judge William E. Miller was born near Mount Pleasant, Pennsylvania, on October 18, 1823. After an education in the neighborhood schools, he began the study of law in 1846. Shortly after this he was elected a Justice of the Peace and also captain of a local militia company called the "Jackson Blues". In 1852 Judge Miller removed to Iowa and located in Iowa City, where he engaged in reportorial work until 1853, when he took up the practice of the law.¹² He served as Judge of the District, Circuit, and Supreme Courts, and also taught for some time in the Law College of the University of Iowa.¹³ During the Civil War he served as Colonel of the Twenty-eighth Iowa Volunteer Infantry until compelled by ill health to resign. Besides compiling the statute laws of the State, Judge Miller wrote extensively on Iowa law. He died in Des Moines on November 7, 1896.

¹¹ This statement is based on remarks to be found in *The Western Jurist* of May, 1880, p. 240; June, 1880, p. 287 (citing defects to be found in McClain's code); July, 1880, p. 335; and October, 1880, p. 479. A review of Miller's Code may be found in *The Western Jurist*, July, 1880, pp. 328, 329.

¹² Biographies of Judge William E. Miller may be found in the *Annals of Iowa*, 1874, Vol. XII, No. 4, pp. 241-253; Stuart's *Iowa Colonels and Regiments*, 1865, pp. 429-436; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. II, 1895, p. 644; and Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. IV, pp. 192, 193.

¹³ *The Iowa Official Register*, 1911-1912, pp. 140, 143, 145.

The reasons given by the author and publishers of this work for bringing it before the public were four-fold. In his preface Judge Miller declares that in "the publication of the State edition of the Code numerous errors occurred, some of which changed the sense and effect of the law."¹⁴ The legislation enacted at the four sessions of the General Assembly had also made important changes in the laws as found in the *Code of 1873*. As further reasons it was stated that the supply of official codes printed by the State and also of those printed by Mills and Company was exhausted, and it would be some years before the State would bring out a new edition.¹⁵

This work contained the statutes found in the *Code of 1873*, together with those passed by the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth General Assemblies, inclusive. All statutes of a general nature in force on July 4, 1880, were thus included.¹⁶ In an appendix the author included various acts of general importance, and several documents, among them the Constitution of the State and the rules of the Supreme Court.¹⁷ The author also inserted annotations from the decisions of the Supreme Court, down to and including the fifty-first volume of the Iowa reports.¹⁸ These are placed at the bottom of the page, as foot-notes, and do not follow the section to which they relate, as in the *Code of 1897*. In addition to the annotations there are excellent marginal notes, giving the content of each section. Wherever matter additional to the laws as found in the *Code of 1873* is included, the author has generally printed the act in full,

¹⁴ Miller's *Revised and Annotated Code of Iowa*, 1880, Vol. I, preface.

¹⁵ *The Western Jurist*, September, 1879, p. 433. A book notice is here given of Miller's Code. It also states that Judge Miller had been three years in the preparation of this work.

¹⁶ Miller's *Revised and Annotated Code of Iowa*, 1880, Vol. I, preface, p. i.

¹⁷ Miller's *Revised and Annotated Code of Iowa*, 1880, Vol. II, pp. 1099-1219.

¹⁸ Miller's *Revised and Annotated Code of Iowa*, 1880, Vol. I, preface, p. ii.

including the formal parts. The index was claimed to be very much superior to, as well as much larger than, the one in the *Code of 1873*.¹⁹

At the session of the General Assembly in 1880, this work was examined by the judiciary committees of the two houses, and an act was passed, providing that when published and certified by the Secretary of State to contain the laws, it "shall be receivable in evidence in all the courts of this state, with like effect as if published by the state."²⁰ This certificate was given by Secretary of State J. A. T. Hull on May 28, 1880.²¹

The work was published in two forms. There was a two-volume edition costing \$12.00, and also a one-volume form costing \$10.00.²² The sale of the work proved to be larger than the publishers expected, and a second edition was printed shortly after its first appearance.²³

In 1882 a new edition of the same work was placed on the market. This last edition included the laws in force until July, 1882, and annotations down to and including the fifty-sixth volume of the Iowa reports.²⁴ Other editions were brought out in 1884 and 1888, and a supplement was issued in 1890.²⁵

THE McCLAIN CODES

The first edition of *McClain's Annotated Statutes of the State of Iowa* was published by Callaghan and Company of

¹⁹ *The Western Jurist*, July, 1880, pp. 328, 329.

²⁰ *The Western Jurist*, May, 1880, p. 240. See also *Laws of Iowa*, 1880, Ch. 196, p. 190.

²¹ *Miller's Revised and Annotated Code of Iowa*, 1880, Vol. I, preface, p. iii.

²² *The Western Jurist*, July, 1880, p. 335.

²³ *The Western Jurist*, October, 1880, p. 479.

²⁴ *The Western Jurist*, August, 1882, p. 472. This is a book review of the 1882 edition. The two-volume form of the 1882 edition sold for \$10.00 and the one-volume form for \$9.00. See also *The Western Jurist*, September, 1882, p. 520.

²⁵ *Check List of the Publications of the State of Iowa*, 1904, p. 34.

Chicago in 1880. This work, which undoubtedly came to be the leading private compilation of laws in the State, was prepared by Mr. Emlin McClain, at that time a member of the Des Moines bar, but later Chancellor of the Law College of the State University of Iowa, and still later a Justice of the Supreme Court of Iowa.²⁶

The edition of 1880 was published in two volumes, the first volume containing parts one and two, and volume two containing parts three and four. This edition contained all the statutes in force on July 4, 1880, which included the *Code of 1873*, as amended, and all the "permanent, general and public acts" of the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth General Assemblies, inclusive. As the *Code of 1873* was used as a basis for this work, the numbering employed in the official publication is retained and under each section is to be found a digest of the decisions relating to that particular section. At the margins may be found notes giving the substance of each section and also references to previous statutes. In volume two there may be found an *Appendix*, which contains the usual number of public documents and laws. There is also a *Table of Session Laws* contained in this volume, giving a list of all the session laws passed since the enactment of the *Code of 1873* and showing where each statute could be found in McClain's work. At the nineteenth session of the General Assembly, held in 1882, an act was passed providing that *McClain's Annotated Statutes of the State of Iowa*, "shall be received in all courts and proceedings, and by all officers in this state, as evidence of the existing laws thereof, with like effect as if published under the authority of the state."²⁷

In preparing the first edition of this work the editor com-

²⁶ For a note concerning biographical material on Justice Emlin McClain, see a previous article in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 372, 373.

²⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1882, pp. 5, 6.

pared the *Code of 1873* as printed by the State with the original rolls in the office of the Secretary of State. Many errors were discovered and these were corrected in the later private editions,²⁸ or notice was given of the error. A supplement appears to have been issued in 1884.²⁹

The most important of the McClain codes appeared in 1888, under the title of *McClain's Annotated Code and Statutes of the State of Iowa*, which was published as a two-volume work, but was also bound in a single volume. This private work probably had a larger influence than any other private code of Iowa statutes and it was in fact the forerunner of the official *Code of 1897*, which was in part modeled after, and took many of its features from, the 1888 edition. The contents of this edition comprised the *Code of 1873* and all laws in force on July 4, 1888. The title of the work was changed from earlier editions and the numbering of sections employed in the *Code of 1873* was discarded, owing to the large amount of new matter contained in the statutes. The author therefore employed a new system of numbering and, following the section number, used a catch word, printed in bold faced type, to indicate the contents of the section, an idea that was adopted in the *Code of 1897*. Following the catch word, or section title, appears the number of the corresponding section in the *Code of 1873*, or in the session laws subsequent to 1873. These code sections may also be found at the top of each page. In brackets at the end of each section is a reference to former codes or revisions, where the similar section may be found. Under the various sections there appear annotations of the decisions of the State Supreme Court relating thereto, and also all the decisions of the federal courts in Iowa, and of those cases appealed from Iowa. Where the

²⁸ *McClain's Annotated Code and Statutes of the State of Iowa*, 1888, Vol. I, preface, p. iv.

²⁹ *Check List of the Publications of the State of Iowa*, 1904, p. 34.

annotations are numerous and raised different points, they have been collected under proper headings beneath each section.

Volume one contains, in addition to the statutes, various tables of corresponding sections. A table of session laws, and an appendix and index are found in volume two. The Constitution of the State, which is contained in volume two, is very extensively annotated.

The Code Revision Committee, which prepared the *Code of 1897*, made considerable use of this work, and also prepared tables in which McClain's Code is shown to have been an important aid to revision.³⁰ The Commissioners, among other things, declared:

Reference is thus made to McClain's Code because that is the compilation of the statutes of the State which will be accessible to members of the General Assembly and others for the purposes of comparison, the official Code of 1873 being out of print. Moreover, as McClain's Code covers the session laws from 1873 to 1888, showing the statute law as it existed at the latter date, a reference to it is much simpler and more convenient than to the Code of 1873, and the mass of amending and repealing statutes. . . . The Commission has based its revision on the Code of 1873 and the session laws, but having found McClain's Code to be a correct embodiment of the whole statute law of a general and permanent nature at the date of its publication, references to it are made for the convenience of those desiring to consult the written law of that date.³¹

A supplement, prepared in 1892, contains the statutes of a general or permanent nature passed by the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth General Assemblies, and also annotations of the decisions rendered between July, 1888, and October, 1892.³² No private general compilation of the stat-

³⁰ *Report of the Code Commission*, 1895, pp. 139-159.

³¹ *Report of the Code Commission*, 1895, pp. 2, 3.

³² *Supplement to McClain's Annotated Code and Statutes of the State of Iowa*, 1892.

utes has appeared since 1892 and since 1897 these have in effect been prohibited by law.³³

CONCLUSIONS

Any suggestions which one might make in regard to compiling the statute law of a State will probably meet opposition from some quarters. No one can deny the value of a compilation of all the statutes into one complete work, properly classified and arranged. And the value of an annotated work is also beyond question. But the increasingly large number of new statutes being enacted at each session of the legislature, with the numerous amendments and repeals, and the enormous number of annotations to be derived from the court decisions constantly being handed down, imposes no inconsiderable expense upon the Commonwealth, if it would keep such a compilation up-to-date, and have it contain all the laws and interpretations thereof. The present system of bringing out a supplement after every third regular session is probably as good a method as can be devised to avoid this difficulty. But this method also has its drawbacks. The supplement is very nearly as bulky as the Code proper and is constantly increasing in size, a different editor has been chosen to edit each supplement, and the time allotted in which to prepare such work is generally inadequate. Other difficulties of greater or less magnitude might also be mentioned.

Various means might be adopted to avoid the difficulties above enumerated. At regular intervals, of from twenty to thirty years, the Code proper could be revised and brought to date. Such a plan appears to the writer to be a necessity. The supplements serve very well for a time, but after a section of the Code has been partially repealed, amended, and the amended section in turn amended, it is indeed a difficult task to hunt through one or more supplements and

³³ *Code of 1897*, Sec. 27, p. 5.

through several volumes of session laws in an effort to determine the exact meaning of the law. There should be some set periods when all the laws are brought to date, and reënacted from that time. The difficulty heretofore encountered by revising commissioners and code editors on account of lack of time in which to prepare their work, could be avoided in large measure by employing a permanent editor of statute law, who should devote his entire time to editing the laws and properly annotating the same. His duties might also be extended so that he should report to each session of the General Assembly or to the Governor, those laws which are obsolete or which in his opinion could be recast to better advantage or in any manner be improved by amendment.

In the matter of annotations another improvement might also be made. Those which no longer represent the law should be designated as obsolete; and where there is more than one annotation under a section, involving substantially the same point, one only might be printed with a citation to the other cases. This would reduce to the least possible bulk the judicial interpretation of the various sections. The editor, however, should be allowed a wide discretion in selecting those annotations which he would print. One feature which would be of value to the bar, should, in the opinion of the writer, be added to the annotations. Many of the Iowa cases are reported in private reporting systems, as the *Northwestern Reporter* and *The Lawyers Reports Annotated*. Wherever a case is thus reported, the report in which it appears should also be cited in addition to the State report. This would slightly increase the bulk of the annotations, but it would be off-set by the suggestion made above.

One criticism of every code that has thus far appeared has been the inadequacy of the index. The laws have not

been properly cross-indexed and a great amount of time has been lost in hunting through the various indexes for statutes. Many of the laws should be indexed under several heads and should be cross-indexed so that they will be found under each head. The index should be carefully made by one who has had a wide experience in making indexes, and who at the same time has a knowledge of the law. This fault has not been entirely that of the compilers in the past. The time allotted to them has necessitated a hasty and nearly always an incomplete index.

Many of these suggestions will probably be met with objections by some, and as many of them concern only the mechanical construction of the code, it is largely a matter of expediency. Nor should it be inferred that Iowa's codes of statute law are inferior to those of other States. Such an inference would be decidedly false. The Iowa codes have been copied by other States, and have served as models for sister Commonwealths. They rank among the very best as compilations of statutory law.

CLIFFORD POWELL

COUNCIL BLUFFS IOWA

THE MILLER-THOMPSON ELECTION CONTEST

The history of congressional elections in Iowa¹ records nine contests² which have been carried into the House of Representatives for adjudication.³ The first and in many respects the most interesting of these contests was that of Daniel F. Miller (Whig) against William Thompson (Democrat) growing out of the campaign and election of 1848 in the First Congressional District. It is the purpose of this paper to review the history of that struggle.

Iowa was about evenly divided, politically, between the Democrats and the Whigs during the period from 1846 to 1854. Although defeated in the congressional campaigns of 1846 and 1847, the Whigs were nevertheless hopeful of electing their candidates in both districts in 1848. Solicitous over the outcome of the campaign in the First District, they entered upon a crusade to secure the votes of the Mormons

¹ For a history of congressional elections in Iowa prior to 1850 see the writer's articles in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, pp. 463-502; Vol. XI, pp. 38-68.

² The contested congressional elections which have been carried from Iowa into the House of Representatives for final adjudication are as follows: Daniel F. Miller *vs.* William Thompson, Thirty-first Congress, 1849-1851; S. B. Black *vs.* Augustus Hall, Thirty-fourth Congress, 1855-1857; Legrand Byington *vs.* William Vandever, Thirty-seventh Congress, 1861-1863; J. C. Holmes *vs.* John L. Wilson, Forty-sixth Congress, 1879-1881; John C. Cook *vs.* Marsena E. Cutts, Forty-seventh Congress, 1881-1883; Benjamin T. Frederick *vs.* James Wilson, Forty-eighth Congress, 1883-1885; Frank G. Campbell *vs.* J. B. Weaver, Forty-ninth Congress, 1885-1887; William P. Hepburn *vs.* William D. Jamieson, Sixty-first Congress, 1909-1911; D. D. Murphy *vs.* Gilbert N. Haugen, Sixty-second Congress, 1911-1913. See Rowell's *Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives, 1789-1901*, for a brief historical and legal digest of the first seven of these cases.

³ The Constitution of the United States provides that each house of Congress "shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members."—Article I, Section 5.

who had settled temporarily on the western frontier of the State.

A considerable number of Mormons were at that time sojourning at the town of Kaneshville (now Council Bluffs) in Pottawattamie County.⁴ The Kaneshville district, however, had not been organized under the laws of Iowa for election purposes when the campaign of 1848 was inaugurated. Indeed, the greater portion of the western half of Iowa had not been organized into counties prior to the August elections of that year.⁵ That is to say, the counties in the eastern portion of the State were organized first. As the organization of counties proceeded, there remained unorganized country lying to the west and varying from one hundred to two hundred miles in extent. By a number of acts passed by the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Iowa and by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, all the country lying west of certain organized counties was attached to such counties for revenue, election, and judicial purposes, and the inhabitants of such attached country were entitled to enjoy all the rights and privileges of citizens of the counties to which they were attached.

THE METHOD OF ORGANIZING ELECTION PRECINCTS

In accordance with this practice, an act was passed by the Legislative Assembly on June 11, 1845, providing for the organization of Kishkekosh (now Monroe) County. This was one of the frontier counties of central Iowa which were bounded on the west by the unorganized counties of the State. The sixteenth section of this act provided that "the territory west of said county be, and the same is hereby

⁴ See Mr. Jacob Van der Zee's article on *The Mormon Trails in Iowa*, in the present issue of THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS.

⁵ See Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, pp. 375-457. See especially Maps I to XVI inclusive, pp. 441-457.

attached to the county of Kishkekosh, for election, revenue and judicial purposes.”⁶ By the seventeenth section of a similar act approved on February 5, 1844, providing for the organization of Mahaska County, the country west of Mahaska County was attached to that county for election, revenue, and judicial purposes.⁷ And on February 16, 1847, the General Assembly of Iowa passed an act, the tenth section of which provided that the country west of Dallas County should be similarly attached to Dallas County.⁸

It is to be noted further that the elective franchise was secured to the inhabitants of the western portion of Iowa by an act of the Legislative Assembly approved on July 28, 1840, and by the State Constitution of 1846. The former provided that “all the country that is at present, or may hereafter be attached to any of the organized counties in the Territory, be, and the same is hereby attached for revenue, election and judicial purposes, and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to and enjoy all the rights and privileges of the county or counties to which they are attached that they would be entitled to were they citizens proper of some organized county.”⁹ The Constitution of 1846 provided that “any country attached to any county for judicial purposes, shall, unless otherwise provided for, be considered as forming part of such county for election purposes.”¹⁰

⁶ *Laws of Iowa*, 1845, pp. 103-106. On January 19, 1846, an act was passed by the Legislative Assembly changing the name of this county from Kishkekosh to Monroe.—*Laws of Iowa*, 1845-1846, p. 108.

⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1843-1844, pp. 85-89.

⁸ *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, pp. 63-66.

⁹ *Laws of Iowa*, Extra Session, 1840, p. 15. The Constitution of 1846 provided that “All the laws now in force in this Territory, which are not repugnant to this constitution, shall remain in force until they expire by their own limitations, or be altered or repealed by the General Assembly of this State.”—Article XIII, Section 2, quoted from Shambaugh’s *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 208.

¹⁰ Constitution of Iowa (1846), Article XIII, Section 7, quoted from Shambaugh’s *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 210.

But in what manner was the elective franchise of those resident in this attached country to be exercised? The Constitution of 1846 provided that "every white male citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been a resident of the State six months next preceding the election, and the county in which he claims his vote twenty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or hereafter may be authorized by law."¹¹ But how were places for holding elections within the country thus attached to organized counties to be provided?

An examination of the laws of Iowa prior to 1848 shows that the Boards of County Commissioners of the various counties to which unorganized territory was attached were empowered to organize such territory for election purposes. Three of these laws deserve special mention as bearing upon the later organization of Kanessville into an election precinct: (1) an act providing for the organization of townships, approved on February 17, 1842,¹² the first section of which authorized the Boards of County Commissioners to divide counties into townships and to designate the places where the first meeting of the electors should be held;¹³

¹¹ *Constitution of Iowa* (1846), Article III, Section 1, quoted from Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 194.

¹² *Laws of Iowa*, 1841-1842, pp. 97-103.

¹³ This section provided "That the board of county commissioners in each county, not yet divided into Townships, shall as soon as they are of the opinion that a majority of the people of the county desire it, proceed to divide the county into townships in the following manner: They shall divide the county into townships of such shape and size as the convenience and interests of the citizens may require, confer upon each township the name preferred by the inhabitants of the same, and appoint the place where the first meeting of the electors shall be holden. The clerk of the said board shall record the name of each township, the time when it was set off, and a particular description of its boundaries."

This provision of the act of February 17, 1842, was finally repealed by the act of January 21, 1847, which superseded it. A complete copy of the act of February 17, 1842, providing for the organization of townships may also be found in Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. III, pp. 253-262.

(2) "An Act providing for and regulating general elections", which went into effect on July 1, 1843,¹⁴ and by which the Boards of County Commissioners were required "at their regular annual session in July preceding the general election, where the counties are not organized into townships", to "appoint three capable and discreet persons, possessing the qualifications of electors, to act as judges of the election, at any election precinct"; and (3) an act approved on January 21, 1847, containing the following provisions:

That the Board of Commissioners of each county, which shall not be divided into townships when this act takes effect, and of each county to which any county or counties, not so divided, shall at that time be attached for election and judicial purposes, shall, at any regular or called session, as early as practicable, divide such attached county or counties, into townships of size and shape most convenient to the inhabitants; giving to each such name as the inhabitants thereof may prefer, and shall appoint a central and convenient place in each township, for holding the first township election; and the Clerk of the Board shall record the name of each township, with a particular description of its boundaries; and every county afterwards established, or organized, shall be divided into townships, in like manner, at any regular or called session of the Board of Commissioners thereof, or of the county to which the same may be attached.¹⁵

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE KANESVILLE PRECINCT

It is evident, therefore, that a method was provided by law for the immediate organization of Kanessville for election purposes in order that the Mormons resident in that vicinity might participate in the general election of 1848. Such organization the Whig campaign managers proceeded to accomplish in the opening weeks of the campaign.

In this connection attention should be called to the fact

¹⁴ *Revised Statutes of the Territory of Iowa, 1842-1843*, pp. 244-256.

¹⁵ *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, p. 29

that Pottawattamie County had already been established prior to the campaign of 1848. On February 24, 1847, the General Assembly of Iowa passed an act entitled "An Act for the organization of Pottawatamie¹⁶ and other counties". The act was, however, very general in character, in that it merely prescribed a method for the organization of Pottawattamie and other counties, although it named and dealt specifically only with Pottawattamie County. This act provided simply that "the country embraced within the limits of what is called the Pottawatamie purchase, on the waters of the Missouri river, in this State, be, and the same may be, temporarily organized into a county, by the name of Pottawatamie, at any time when, in the opinion of the judge of the fourth judicial district, the public good may require such organization."¹⁷ Although the boundaries of the Pottawattamie Purchase,¹⁸ which by the above act became also the boundaries of Pottawattamie County, were not definitely prescribed, the country included within the newly created county of Pottawattamie embraced the greater portion of southwestern Iowa.

While an attempt was made in the early part of the campaign of 1848 to secure an order from the Judge of the Fourth Judicial District authorizing the organization of Pottawattamie County,¹⁹ this county was not actually organ-

¹⁶ This is the spelling found in the act.

¹⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, pp. 115, 116.

¹⁸ The date of this purchase is June 5 and 17, 1846. The territory thus ceded included all the lands claimed by the Pottawattamie Indians in Iowa.—See Kappler's *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 557-560. See also Garver's map descriptive of this cession in his *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 250.

¹⁹ For an account of the establishment and organization of Pottawattamie County see Garver's *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, pp. 411-416.

ized until September 28, 1848.²⁰ In the meantime, Pottawattamie County remained an unorganized county and as such was, under the laws of Iowa, attached to the organized counties to the east for election, revenue, and judicial purposes, and was subject to division into townships for election and other purposes by the Boards of Commissioners of the respective counties to which the country included within Pottawattamie County was attached.

Early in the summer of 1848, Fitz Henry Warren, chairman of the Whig State Executive Committee and also treasurer of the National Committee, had a conference with William Pickett, traveling agent for the *St. Louis Republican*, the leading Mormon paper in Missouri.²¹ Nothing definite is known as to the subjects actually discussed at this conference; but in the light of later developments it is evident that the object of this meeting was the consideration of the Mormon vote in the ensuing election. Arrangements were entered into whereby Pickett was to secure the organization of Kanesville for election purposes. This object Pickett at once proceeded to accomplish.

Immediately after the conference with Warren, Pickett set out for Kanesville, arriving there about the 20th of May.²² The Mormons, anxious to secure a township organization for local government purposes, were persuaded to

²⁰ This is the date given by Garver in his *History of the Establishment of Counties in Iowa* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. VI, p. 412.

²¹ The writer has been unable to determine the exact time and place of this conference. It is probable, however, that it was held in Burlington some time during the month of May. This conclusion is based on newspaper reports of the period and on *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, 1849-1850, Document No. 47.

²² Testimony of Evan M. Greene, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 36. Greene was one of the clerks of the election held at Kanesville on August 7, 1848, and later was appointed postmaster at that place. Greene testified that Pickett "came here about the 20th of May."

circulate a petition praying for such organization. Presuming, evidently, that Kanesville lay directly west of Monroe County, the following petition, signed by a number of Kanesville residents and dated June 12th, was addressed to the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County:

We, the undersigned, citizens residing near Council Bluffs, in the State of Iowa, ask your honors to grant us a township for the purpose of electing two justices of the peace and constables, as we labor under so much disadvantage from the want of legal authority in our midst, not having legal authority among us to authenticate an instrument in our necessary dealings and conveyances, or to take proper cognizance of those violating the law.

The election may be held at the council-house, in the village of Kanesville, and Charles Bird, Henry Miller, and William Huntington would be suitable men to act as judges of said election.²³

Armed with this document, Pickett went to Monroe County; but before presenting it to the Board of Commissioners of that county he called at the home of James P. Carleton, Judge of the Fourth Judicial District. Pickett informed Carleton that he had brought a petition from Pottawattamie County asking for the appointment of an organizing Sheriff for that county²⁴—hoping, apparently, for an appointment

²³ This petition was included in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 4. The Clerk of Monroe County certified on October 26, 1848, that this was "a true copy of all the petition there is in the office at this time".

²⁴ Testimony of Judge Carleton given at Iowa City on March 6, 1850, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 120. The writer doubts whether Pickett did in fact have in his possession such a petition. Judge Carleton did not say that he saw the petition in question but that Pickett "came to my house with a petition signed by a number of persons, representing that he and the petition were both from Pottawattamie county, the petition praying for the appointment of an organizing sheriff for said county." Carleton stated that he refused to appoint Pickett on the ground that he had already appointed a Mr. Townsend for that purpose. Townsend did not, however, effect an organization for Pottawattamie County, a fact for which it is difficult to offer an explanation except perhaps that Townsend, who was a Democrat, felt certain the inhabitants of Pottawattamie County would support the Whig ticket and that therefore it was politically expedient to postpone the

whereby he would be able to organize Pottawattamie County independently. Carleton, however, refused to make the desired appointment. Defeated in this plan, Pickett went to Albia, the county seat of Monroe County and presented the same document to the Board of Commissioners. No one else being present at the time who knew anything about the location of Kaneshville, Pickett explained that he believed Kaneshville to be due west of Monroe County.²⁵ The Board of Commissioners thereupon issued, under date of July 3rd, an order granting the request set forth in the petition.

Ordered by the board of commissioners of the county of Monroe and State of Iowa, that that portion of country called Pottawattamie county, which lies directly west of Monroe county, be organized into a township, and that Kaneshville be a precinct for election purposes in said township; and that the election be held at the council-house in said village, and that Charles Bird, Henry Miller, and William Huntington be appointed judges of said election, and that the boundaries of said township extend east as far as the East Nishnabotna.²⁶

Pickett, appearing to be very anxious to reach Kaneshville in time to give the proper notices for holding the election, the Clerk of Monroe County requested a man named Townsend (who had accompanied Pickett to Albia) to prepare the

organization of that county. This was later charged against Townsend. Whatever explanation may be given, it appears from the records examined that Townsend advised Pickett to see Judge Carleton and in the event of his failing to secure the appointment as organizing sheriff to proceed to Albia where the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County was then in session. This Pickett did, accompanied by Townsend, and he secured the order. As a matter of interest, Judge Carleton did later appoint Pickett organizing sheriff for Pottawattamie County. This appointment, however, was not made till August 28th — three weeks after the general election. Pottawattamie County was organized on September 28th — in time for the county to participate independently in the presidential election of 1848.

²⁵ Testimony of William Townsend, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 63, 64.

²⁶ This order is incorporated in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 4, 5.

notices which the Sheriff of Monroe County authorized Pickett to post. Pickett lost no time in returning to Kaneshville, where he arrived some time during the early part of July. The order of the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County was duly executed; and Pickett, during the remaining weeks of the campaign, "used his utmost exertions in favor of the election of Daniel Miller . . . and of the Whig ticket generally."²⁷ For these services Warren paid Pickett the sum of one hundred and forty dollars.²⁸

EFFORTS OF THE WHIGS TO SECURE THE MORMON VOTE

In the meantime other agencies were employed by the Whigs for the control of the Mormon vote in the coming general election. On June 24th, Elder Orson Hyde, who was the leader of the Mormons in Iowa, left Kaneshville for the eastern part of the State.²⁹ It appears that Hyde had two principal objects in view in undertaking this journey: (1) a conference with Fitz Henry Warren concerning the political situation and the measures necessary to insure a Whig victory; and (2) the purchase of a printing press for the purpose of establishing a newspaper at Kaneshville.

Hyde arrived in Burlington in the first week of July, and had a conference with Warren. Although it is not known definitely what arrangements were entered into between these two men,³⁰ it is evident that a satisfactory agreement

²⁷ Testimony of Evan M. Greene, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 36.

²⁸ Warren acknowledged the payment of one hundred and forty dollars to Pickett for his services and traveling expenses, in a letter which appeared in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* for August 31, 1848. This letter was printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 56.

²⁹ Testimony of Orson Hyde, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 45.

³⁰ Leading Democratic newspapers later charged that Warren gave Hyde a draft for one thousand dollars on Washington in return for the latter's active and open support of the Whig ticket. This alleged "corrupt bargain" will be considered in the following pages of this discussion.

was reached, for immediately after the conference, Hyde wrote a letter addressed to the Mormons in Iowa advising them to support the Whig ticket. This interesting communication reads as follows:

BURLINGTON, IOWA, July 8, 1848.

Dear Friends and Brethren:—

It has seemed good to me, your brother and companion in tribulation, and counsellor in the church of God, to advise and request you to cast your votes at the ensuing election for the Whig candidates for office. This letter is placed in the hands of Col. F. H. Warren, *who will give you or cause it to be done, all necessary information, HOW AND WHERE TO ACT.*

A due respect for our prosperity as a people and for the prosperity of the country at large, has influenced me to give you the above counsel; and with it I give you the assurance of my hearty good will, and an interest in my prayers that Heaven's blessings may rest upon you here, and that his glory may be your reward, where the "wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

Your brother in Christ,

ORSON HYDE.³¹

The above letter was at once dispatched to all the Mormon settlements in the State and it is reasonable to suppose that it contributed in a considerable degree to the almost unanimous support of the Whig party by the Kanesville voters at the ensuing election, for Orson Hyde was probably the most influential person among the Mormons in Iowa.³²

³¹ This letter is quoted from the *Keokuk Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 14, August 26, 1848. It was published also in the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Bloomington), Vol. I, No. 8, August 26, 1848. These two journals in turn copied the letter from the *Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington), to which it was first sent.

Hyde admitted in his testimony given at Kanesville on March 19, 1850, that he had written a letter while in Burlington in 1848 advising the Mormons to vote the Whig ticket; that he left this letter with Mr. Warren; that he had not, however, signed it as head of the Mormon Church but as a private individual; and that he was "quite willing" that they should "use it publicly or privately."—See *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 47.

³² Hyde later professed that he had known nothing of the organization of Kanesville for election purposes at the time of his visit in Burlington. This is

It appears further that while in Burlington Hyde effected an arrangement through which he secured the money for the purchase of a printing press. Evidence as to the source of this money is, however, vague and conflicting. While the newspapers a few weeks later charged that Hyde had received the money from the Whigs, Hyde himself testified that he had "received letters from another source, not in Iowa that were a benefit to me, through which I effected a loan of eight hundred dollars. With that money I purchased in Cincinnati my press and type."³³ While Hyde did not deny outright that he received the money in question from the Whigs, it can not be proved that he did obtain the sum from that source. In short, while it is evident that Hyde and Warren had an understanding with each other, the question as to whether Hyde joined with Warren in an alliance with money as the basis of the agreement is a matter of speculation.

The activities of Orson Hyde after the above objects were secured may be stated very briefly. Leaving Burlington immediately after the publication of his letter to the Mormons, he went to Cincinnati where he purchased his printing press. It is probable that he went on to Washington, D. C. No record, however, is to be found concerning his journey from the time he left Burlington until he returned to Kanes-

probably true, for Hyde left Kanesville on June 24th — ten days before Pickett secured the order from the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County authorizing the establishment of an election precinct at Kanesville — and arrived in Burlington about the time that the above order was issued. But while Hyde may not have known of the action taken by the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County, he may nevertheless have anticipated such action, for he acknowledged that he had conferred with Pickett when the latter was circulating among the Mormons the petition which was later presented to the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County. Again, Hyde admitted that he had met Pickett when he (Hyde) was on his way to Burlington.— See testimony of Orson Hyde, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 41.

³³ Testimony of Orson Hyde, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 42.

ville on October 20th—more than two months after the general election and two weeks before the presidential election. Hyde at once installed his printing press and began the publication of his newspaper, the *Frontier Guardian*.³⁴

It is apparent, therefore, that Fitz Henry Warren, Orson Hyde, and William Pickett were laboring energetically to secure the Mormon vote at the general election of 1848 in order to insure a Whig triumph at the polls. While these influences were at work in behalf of the Whig candidates, the leading Democratic newspapers began to scent what they professed to regard a “corrupt bargain” between the Whig and Mormon leaders.

Two days before Orson Hyde issued his Burlington letter, the editor of the *Keokuk Dispatch* wrote an editorial in which he informed his readers that he had learned, while in Iowa City the week before, of “an arrangement” being made whereby “a few thousand” Mormons were to be incorporated within “some of the organized counties, for the purpose of voting the Whig ticket, in order, if possible, to secure the Whig ticket in the State.” These considerations led the editor to observe that:

We would be the last to complain of the use of any honorable means to acquire a victory in a political struggle, but when we see a party, or an individual, endeavoring to thwart the wishes of the people of our State, by importing into our organized limits, a remnant of a sect whose customs are so unlike those of a christian community that their presence, in a body, can nowhere be tolerated, and that too when they have shown their disregard of our institutions, by refusing to organize and become subject to our laws, as they have done, our indignation becomes aroused to such an extent that we scarcely dare trust ourselves to speak of the matter, lest we indulge in the use of language unbecoming the columns of a newspaper.
 In a short time the whole matter will manifest itself.³⁵

³⁴ Testimony of Orson Hyde, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 45.

³⁵ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 7, July 6, 1848.

And so it did, apparently, for just two weeks later, when the congressional campaign was at its height (July 20th), this same journal again called attention to the matter in the following words:

Information of the most unquestionable character has been received, that the leaders in the whig party in Iowa are making every effort to buy up the Mormon vote that is now sojourning on our western borders and throughout the State. Pledges of every description that they could ask have been made them to vote the whig ticket. Missionaries and runners from the whig camp here have been circulating to and from the head-quarters of the whig and Mormon leaders that the Mormons are all pledged, as far as political machinery can be made to influence them, to vote for D. F. Miller, and the whig ticket. We are also assured by the Mormon leaders the whig State Central Committee of Iowa have purchased a printing establishment, press, type, paper, &c., and made a present to the Mormons, with an understanding that if Pottawattamie county . . . cannot be organized in time to enable them to vote at the August election, they are to march in phalanx into the organized counties, and some three thousand of them vote the whig ticket.³⁶

THE CONGRESSIONAL CAMPAIGN OF 1848

The congressional campaign of 1848 was, during the month of July, characterized by great earnestness and enthusiasm.³⁷ Party lines were closely drawn and the Whigs were determined to win at the general election, while the Democrats were equally determined to retain their ascendancy. It was therefore to be expected that Whigs and Democrats would carry the campaign into the Mormon settlements. Indeed, the records show that the candidates for State and national offices did considerable electioneering in Kanesville during the closing weeks of the campaign.

Among the Democrats who went to Kanesville for elec-

³⁶ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 9, July 20, 1848.

³⁷ For an account of the congressional campaign and election of 1848, including a map showing the congressional districts, see the writer's article in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 38-68.

tioneering purposes were Josiah H. Bonney of Van Buren County, candidate for Secretary of State, and Dr. John Selman of Davis County, candidate for State Senator.³⁸ William S. Townsend of Lucas County and George P. Stiles of Van Buren County also journeyed thither to give active support to the Democratic candidates.³⁹ Ezra P. Cone, the Democratic Sheriff of Monroe County, was present at the polls in Kanesville on election day and electioneered "for William Thompson and the Democratic ticket."⁴⁰ William Thompson, too, made his appearance in that vicinity near the close of the campaign and hastened away again to look after his political fences in other quarters. Finally, it should be mentioned that the members of the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County were all Democrats and so was the Clerk of that county, and that these officials all "acted as the political friends and supporters of Hon. William Thompson in the Congressional election of 1848."⁴¹

The Whigs were no less determined to control the Mormon vote in the coming election. Intense partisan zeal was displayed by party managers and candidates. William Pickett made the final appeal to the Mormons to support the Whig ticket. It is not known whether Daniel F. Miller went to Kanesville at any time during the campaign or not.

THE ELECTION AT KANESVILLE

The Kanesville polls were opened on Monday morning, August 7th, the date of the general election. Charles Bird,

³⁸ Testimony of George P. Stiles, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 17, 18.

³⁹ Testimony of George P. Stiles, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 17, 18.

⁴⁰ *Admissions in reference to various matters*, by William Thompson, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 22.

⁴¹ *Admissions of Thompson in relation to the politics of the officers of Monroe County*, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 22.

Henry Miller, and William Huntington, who had been appointed by the Board of Commissioners to act as judges of the election, were duly sworn to serve in that capacity. The clerks of the election were James Sloan and Evan M. Greene.⁴²

According to the testimony of witnesses, the election was held in a legal and orderly manner.⁴³ No special incidents or violence of any sort occurred. When the polls were closed and the ballots counted, it was found that the Mormons had cast almost a unanimous vote for Daniel F. Miller and the other candidates on the Whig ticket. Out of a total of 523 votes cast in the Kanesville precinct, Miller received 493 and Thompson 30. The other Whig candidates for State and local offices received almost the same majorities.⁴⁴

The news of this overwhelming triumph of Daniel F. Miller over William Thompson in the Kanesville precinct was received with astonishment and chagrin by the Democratic leaders. In the first place, the Democrats had apparently been hopeful of polling a substantial vote among the Mormons. In the second place, it very soon became evident that upon the Kanesville vote hung the issue as to whether Thompson or Miller was to represent the First Congressional District in the Thirty-first Congress. Interest, therefore, now centered at the county seat of Monroe County to which place the Kanesville returns were brought for final record.

THE REJECTION OF THE KANESVILLE POLL BOOK

It will be remembered that the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County had organized Kanesville into an election

⁴² See *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 7, 8.

⁴³ Testimony of Evan M. Greene, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 37.

⁴⁴ Official returns as printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 5.

precinct in the belief that the Kanesville district was included in the unorganized territory attached to Monroe County for election and other purposes. It therefore became necessary to file the Kanesville poll book with the Clerk of Monroe County, whose duty it was to include the Kanesville returns in the abstract of votes to be forwarded to the Secretary of State. Accordingly, James Sloan set out immediately with the poll book in question for Albia, where he arrived on Sunday evening, August 13th.⁴⁵

In the meantime it appears that leading Democrats were determined that the Kanesville returns should not be received in case they should be found favorable to the Whigs. The leading figure in this preconcerted plan was J. C. Hall, the law-partner of William Thompson and later one of his attorneys in the contested election. According to his own confession, on the Wednesday preceding the election Hall went to Montrose in Lee County, where he had a conference with Augustus Caesar Dodge and L. W. Babbitt. The subject of the conversation was the Mormon vote. At the close of the conference Hall came to the conclusion that "no injury could arise from the vote of Garden Grove, in Appanoose county, or Pisgah, in Monroe county"; but he seemed to think otherwise with reference to the Kanesville vote, for it was his judgment that inasmuch as "Kanesville was north of Monroe county", the vote of that precinct "could not be legally received". Hall then told Dodge that he would, as "the friend of Mr. Thompson", attend to that matter.⁴⁶

Hall and Dodge left Montrose together on the same day for Madison. While at that place Hall again discussed the question of the Mormon vote in the presence of A. C. Dodge,

⁴⁵ Testimony of J. C. Hall, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Testimony of J. C. Hall, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 25.

Ed Johnson, J. C. Walker, and ex-Governor James Clarke. After presenting his own views, Hall suggested that he would go to Albia and see to it that the Kanesville vote should not be counted if they thought it advisable. They all urged that he should go, "expressing the unequivocal opinion that the vote would be illegal and fraudulent, and that it ought, if possible, to be suppressed from the canvass." It seemed to be the impression that the Kanesville vote would be given to the Whigs.⁴⁷

Hall then returned to Burlington, where he remained until after the election. It is not known what conferences he may have had at that place in this interval. On Thursday following the election Hall left Burlington for Albia, with the intention of being present when the returns of the election were opened and of preventing the Kanesville vote from being counted, on the ground that this vote was illegal and therefore void.⁴⁸ In the meantime James Sloan was on his way to Albia with the Kanesville poll book.

On the morning of August 14th the office of the Clerk of Monroe County was the meeting-place of an anxious group of politicians representing both parties, for this was the day on which the returns were to be made, and the Whigs were alarmed lest the Kanesville vote should be rejected; while the Democrats feared that the vote would be received. About thirty persons were present, among whom were William Pickett (who had accompanied Sloan to Albia) and J. C. Hall. Considerable discussion at once took place as to whether the Clerk (Dudley C. Barber) should receive the Kanesville returns. Hall advised Barber not to receive them, giving as his reason that the organization of the Kanesville precinct by the Board of Commissioners of Mon-

⁴⁷ Testimony of J. C. Hall, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 25, 26.

⁴⁸ Testimony of J. C. Hall, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 24.

roe County was illegal, inasmuch as Kanesville was not directly west of Monroe County and, therefore, was not in the country attached to that county. Mr. Howell argued in favor of their acceptance.⁴⁹

After a short time Sloan produced a sealed package which he offered to Barber as the official returns of the Kanesville precinct. Barber declined to receive the package, stating that he was satisfied that the Kanesville precinct was not in Monroe County, and that it was therefore not his duty to receive the vote of that district. Sloan thereupon laid the returns upon the Clerk's table.

A heated discussion ensued. Finally, someone inquired what should be done with the returns in question. Hall replied: "*Sweep them out of doors* — they are waste paper." Pickett insisted that Barber had in fact received the papers, but the latter replied: "I have not, and I am not going to receive them". And he remained firm in his refusal. Soon afterwards Hall and Pickett and the others left the Clerk's office. The Kanesville poll book was left lying on the table.⁵⁰

In the afternoon Sloan went back to the Clerk's office to induce Barber to endorse the poll-book. Sloan explained to him that he was going to start home the next morning and that he was desirous of securing his pay. Barber went to the table and took the poll book out from under some newspapers where he had placed it, but put it back in the same place without making any reply, whereupon Sloan left the office.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Testimony of J. C. Hall, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 24. See also the testimony of James Sloan, p. 68.

⁵⁰ Testimony of J. C. Hall, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 24, 25. See also the testimony of James Sloan, p. 68.

⁵¹ Testimony of James Sloan, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 68.

A few days later the editor of the *Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington) published an editorial in which he presented in full the following reasons offered by Barber for rejecting the Kanesville vote:

1. The country called Pottawattamie county, in which Kanesville is situated, had been conditionally organized by an act of the Legislature, and the power of final organization given to the Judge of the 4th Judicial district.

2. That when Kishkekosh (now Monroe) county was organized, Pottawattamie county was Indian country, and consequently not attached by the organizing act — and that the subsequent acquisition of that country did not enlarge the boundaries of Monroe county.

3. That the action of the Legislature in conditionally organizing the Pottawattamie country into a county, as soon as the Indian title was extinguished, showed that it was not regarded as being attached to Monroe.

4. That, even admitting the country lying immediately west of Monroe county be attached to Monroe for election purposes, clear through to Missouri river, there was no evidence in existence in the absence of Government surveys, to show that Kanesville was west of said county; but, on the contrary, the maps showed it to be north of Monroe and west of Marion.

5. That the Commissioners of Monroe county had no authority to organize an election precinct out of Monroe and the legally attached counties; and that if they did so, it was the duty of the clerk to treat it as a void act.

6. That it was his duty to know the legal geographical boundaries of his county, and that he could not receive returns coming from any other place than Monroe county, or the legally attached country.⁵²

THE RESULTS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

The returns from the various counties in the First Congressional District came in slowly. Modern facilities for rapid communication and transportation had not yet made

⁵² Quoted in the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Bloomington), Vol. I, No. 8, August 26, 1848.

their appearance in Iowa and ordinary travel was subjected to great inconveniences. Considerable delay was therefore experienced in the transmission of the election returns to the Board of Canvassers at Iowa City. Finally, however, on September 15th the Board of Canvassers, composed of Ansel Briggs, Elisha Cutler, Jr., and Joseph T. Fales, officially announced the votes cast by counties in the First District.⁵³

The abstract showed that William Thompson had received 6477 votes; Daniel F. Miller, 6091; and Samuel L. Howe, 310. In other words, Thompson's majority over Miller was 386.⁵⁴ The Kanesville vote, having been rejected by the Clerk of Monroe County, was not included in the abstract of votes from that county and was therefore not counted by the Board of Canvassers. If this vote had been included in the general abstract the vote for the congressional candidates would have stood as follows: Daniel F. Miller, 6584; William Thompson, 6507; and Samuel L. Howe, 310. In short, Miller's majority over Thompson would then have been 77 votes, which would have entitled him to a seat in Congress.⁵⁵

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE KANESVILLE POLL BOOK

The matter of the Kanesville returns, however, did not end with the refusal of the Clerk of Monroe County to receive the votes, for there occurred an incident which is an

⁵³ For the composition and the functions of the State Board of Canvassers in congressional elections in Iowa, see the act of January 24, 1848, providing for the election of Representatives to Congress.—*Laws of Iowa*, Extra Session, 1848, pp. 31, 32.

⁵⁴ Election returns as found in the Archives at Des Moines.

⁵⁵ In order to understand the full scope of this contest it should be mentioned in this connection that several other returns were later disputed and included in the congressional investigation. These disputes may be classified under two heads: first, the rejection of certain alleged legal votes; second, the counting of certain alleged illegal votes. These disputes do not, however, enter into the present discussion and will therefore be postponed for later consideration.

example of the tactics frequently employed in politics half a century ago and which was destined to provoke violent denunciation of the Democrats by the Whig press. This incident was the disappearance of the Kanesville poll book on the evening of August 14th — the date of its rejection by the Clerk of Monroe County.

The facts concerning this episode appear to be as follows. According to J. C. Hall (the chief agent connected with the disappearance of the poll book and therefore the principal witness), some one whose name he professed to have forgotten came to him in the evening after the vote of Monroe County had been canvassed and told him that the Clerk would not have anything to do with the Kanesville returns; that Pickett or the Mormons would get them and keep them if something were not done to prevent it; and that the Clerk "would not consent or dissent from any person's taking them". Hall replied that if the Clerk would not keep the returns so that they would be secure from alteration, the Democrats should have them; that a duplicate had been retained at Kanesville; and that it would be well to keep this copy for the purpose of preventing fraud in case of a contest in the congressional election or the senatorial election for Monroe and Wapello counties.

It appears further from Hall's statement that he was informed "after dark" on the same evening that the returns "had been procured", but "how or by whom" he did not know nor did he inquire. He was informed "subsequently", he said, that the returns had been placed in his saddle bags. He did not recollect whether this fact was communicated to him at Albia, at Ottumwa, or at Agency City, but he believed it was at Agency City. At Fairfield he found a package which he supposed to be the Kanesville poll book, and he took it to Burlington, where he kept it "sealed until sometime in the winter of 1849 when some

person or persons broke the seal". He "never looked at" it or "in any manner examined" it, "unless it was to compare" it with the list furnished by Daniel F. Miller in the contest; and he gave the poll book to William Thompson in the spring of 1849, after which time he never saw it again "until February 1850."⁵⁶

A critical review of the facts concerning the disappearance of the Kaneshville poll book at once suggests two questions: (1) What were Hall's motives in taking charge of the poll book?; (2) Did Hall have definite knowledge of the presence of the poll book in his saddle bags before he left Albion? For answers to these questions reliance must be placed on Hall's testimony and on his connection with the congressional election of 1848.

Concerning Hall's motives in taking possession of the Kaneshville poll book, it may be argued on the one hand that he had no other purpose in view than to prevent fraud by the Whigs in case they should contest the election. The Whigs already had in their possession the duplicate poll book and it was only fair that the Democrats should have the original, which they would have had in their possession in case it had been received by the Clerk of Monroe County. On the other hand, it may be contended that Hall was anxious to make way with the poll book in order to prevent its being used if the Whigs should contest Thompson's election. Whatever interpretation is placed on Hall's motives, two considerations should be kept in mind in rendering final judgment. In the first place, Hall as a member of the party to which Thompson belonged and as Thompson's law-partner was possessed of strong partisan zeal for his election and was determined, as soon as it became evident to him that Miller had won the almost unanimous support

⁵⁶ Testimony of J. C. Hall, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 25.

of the Mormons, that the Kanesville returns should not be received. At the same time, he does not appear to have entertained any serious doubts as to the legality of the Kanesville organization during the July campaign when both Whigs and Democrats were electioneering in this precinct for the support of the Mormons at the ensuing general election. In the second place, Hall did not publish the fact that he had taken the poll book, but kept the book and made no acknowledgment of having had anything to do with it until after it was accidentally discovered in February, 1850. In the meantime, the Kanesville poll book was considered as lost.

In the light of these considerations, Hall's connection with the poll book is subject to censure. If his motives had been perfectly honorable, why did he permit the people of Iowa to think for over a year and a half that the poll book had been lost?

Whether or not Hall had any direct personal knowledge of the manner in which the poll book found its way into his saddle bags is a matter of speculation. It would seem that he must have known that he had it in his possession before he left Albia. It was frequently remarked, after Hall published a long letter in March, 1850,⁵⁷ explaining his connection with the poll book, "that if Hall had not found the poll book when he reached for it into his saddle bags he would have been the most disappointed man in the State of Iowa."⁵⁸

NEWSPAPER DISCUSSION OF THE MORMON VOTE

The whole subject of the Mormon vote now became the theme of the hour. As the facts relating to this topic reached the various localities of the State, politicians gath-

⁵⁷ This letter is quoted in full below, pp. 78-80.

⁵⁸ Statement of Judge C. C. Nourse to the writer.

ered at taverns, grocery stores, newspaper offices, and on street-corners to discuss the events connected with the contest for the Mormon vote and to pass judgment on the merits of the case. Farmers hailed one another on the country roads to exchange news and opinions. The whole editorial corps of Iowa turned its attention to this subject. Entire columns in the leading newspapers were devoted to reviews of the "Mormon Vote". Speculation and recrimination were exchanged by party editors. Charges of theft and bribery were hurled at opposing party leaders. For weeks and months the controversy continued, until it was finally settled in the autumn of 1850. For years after that date it was frequently called up in private conversation⁵⁹ and in newspaper editorials.⁶⁰

Two weeks after the rejection and disappearance of the Kanessville returns the editor of the *Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington) declared that while he had known for some time that the Whigs based their hopes upon the Mormon vote, he did not believe that the Mormons as a body had intended to interfere in an election, in which, because of the temporary character of their sojourn in Iowa, they had no real interest or part. He could not say as much, however, for the leaders of the Mormons. "These men," said the editor, "we have no hesitation in saying, made a regular transfer of the Mormon vote to the whigs FOR A PRICE!" The editor then recounted the story of the activities of Pickett and Orson Hyde, and their negotiations with the Whig leaders. Hyde was specifically charged with having written his famous letter and with having sold his influence to the Whigs in return for a sum of money, which the editor declared to have been one thousand dollars. "The fact, then," was the conclusion, "is fully established, that to the

⁵⁹ Statement of Judge C. C. Nourse to the writer.

⁶⁰ See for example *The Weekly Hawk-Eye* (Burlington) for September 17, 1859.

extent of Hyde's influence the Mormons of Iowa amounting to thousands in number as they themselves declare — were not only transferred to the whigs *for a price*, at the late election, but, worst of all, like so many cattle, were turned over to F. H. Warren for instruction HOW AND WHERE TO ACT."⁶¹

"The long agony is over", was the comment of the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* after reviewing the reasons for the rejection of the Kaneshville returns. "The whigs bade us not to crow, until we heard from Pottawattamie! We *have* heard from Pottawattamie! Their disgraceful scheme to overrule the people of Iowa, and to deprive them of their free choice, through the agency of 1500 illegal votes, bought for the occasion, is not only exposed, but has signally FAILED! Will anyone accuse us of injustice, hereafter, when we declare that the Federal party *fear the voice of a FREE people* as destructive of their schemes, and place their only hope of success, upon MERCHANTABLE VOTES and the corruption of the ballot box?" Finally, in referring to the sudden disappearance of the Kaneshville returns, the editor sarcastically remarked: "The whigs say the locos *stole* them. The more probable story is, that the Mormons, themselves, took the returns back with them — concluding to suppress the poll book, as they only agreed *to vote* to earn the 'one thousand dollars'."⁶²

The *Keokuk Dispatch* also denounced the Whigs in no uncertain terms for the alleged corrupt bargain with the Mormon leaders. After quoting Orson Hyde's letter in full the editor declared:

This letter was written on the eve of his departure for Washington, where it is supposed, he was to receive one thousand dollars, a

⁶¹ This editorial is quoted from the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Bloomington), Vol. I, No. 8, August 26, 1848, which copied it from the *Iowa State Gazette* (Burlington) for August 23rd.

⁶² *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Bloomington), Vol. I, No. 8, August 26, 1848.

part of the consideration. To prove the actual bargain, its stipulations, &c., by witnesses who were present, is not to be expected on such occasions, but no man of ordinary reason will, after reading that letter, which was read to the multitude, doubt that the corrupt bargain was made. What must the people of Iowa think of a party that resorts to such means to gain an advantage — office — over their friends, neighbors, and brothers? And who, while a candidate before the people, becomes the agent for such a purpose?

We look for denunciations, deep and bitter from the whig press, for the manly refusal by the Clerk to receive and count the fraudulent vote, but we care but little — whigs will be whigs, and sanction the acts of their political friends, be they good or bad, and democrats are not so lacking in knowledge of their true character as to be frightened at their fancied discoveries of stupendous frauds.⁶³

In reply to these charges advanced by the *Iowa State Gazette* and reiterated by the other leading Democratic journals of the First Congressional District, Fitz Henry Warren wrote the following open letter which was published in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* on August 31st:

TO THE PUBLIC

In reply to the charges made by the State Gazette of last week, of an attempted and actual bribery of the leaders of the Mormon church, whereby the entire vote was cast for the whig ticket at the late election, I deem it my duty to declare the statements made in that article to be utterly and basely untrue. No draught, letter of credit, or other evidence of value for one thousand dollars was ever given by me to Elder Orson Hyde, or to any other member of the Mormon church. Nor has there been, with the exception of one hundred and forty dollars, paid at different times to William Pickett, for the expenses of organizing precincts and general traveling outlay, a single dollar paid by me, or through my agency, to any individual connected with their organization. Nor has Elder Orson Hyde, in my belief, ever made such an acknowledgment of money received.

The evidence to sustain the truth of these declarations not being accessible, in consequence of the absence of this gentleman, I can

⁶³ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 14, August 26, 1848.

give, at this time, no further endorsement of this absolute and full denial of the whole matter of the accusation.

FITZ HENRY WARREN,
*Chairman of State Executive Committee.*⁶⁴

This unequivocal denial on the part of Fitz Henry Warren was circulated throughout the district and constituted the Whig defense against the Democratic charges of bargain and corruption.

But this did not daunt the opposition press. The editor of the *Keokuk Dispatch*, in answer to Warren's letter, remarked insinuatingly that "Fitz Henry Warren . . . acknowledges that he paid a certain Mr. Pickett, an influential Mormon, one hundred and forty dollars for the expenses of organizing precincts and general travelling outlay."⁶⁵ Again, a week later, the editor of this same journal observed that "if the whigs and Mormons keep on in their endeavors to prove themselves innocent of the bargain and sale charged against them, we shall soon arrive at the full amount of the consideration."

In proof of this assertion the editor undertook to present "the following items" which, he said, had "already leaked out" from Whig sources:

Babbitt says that Hyde showed him a draft on Washington	
for	\$1000
Pickett acknowledged a draft for a Printing establishment..	\$1000
Warren said he paid Pickett expenses for organizing pre-	
cincts	\$ 140
Warren says he gave Lyons an order for paper and other	
materials	\$ 100
	<hr/>
	\$2240 ⁶⁶

⁶⁴ This letter is quoted from *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 56.

⁶⁵ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 16, September 9, 1848.

⁶⁶ *Keokuk Dispatch*, Vol. I, No. 17, September 16, 1848.

These charges were all denied by the Whigs except the third, which Warren acknowledged in his open letter.

The Whigs also assumed the offensive in this controversy. It appears that Augustus Caesar Dodge took an active part in the congressional campaign of 1848, using his influence in favor of William Thompson. It was charged by James G. Edwards, editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, that Dodge had offered a bribe to secure the Mormon vote for the Democratic party in the August elections. This charge was reiterated by Mr. Howell, the editor of the *Des Moines Valley Whig*.

Dodge, however, emphatically denied the charge. He declared that Edwards and Howell had "personal and private griefs, which they have never had the manliness to attempt to redress" and consequently they "have ever been my ready defamers." Dodge thereupon wrote to Pickett and Babbitt asking them to relieve him of this infamous charge which they did in letters published in the *Weekly Miners' Express* of Dubuque, one of the leading Democratic organs in the State.⁶⁷

It should also be mentioned that the Whigs further charged the Democrats, who had electioneered in the Kanesville precinct during the campaign, with having used corrupt means to swing over the Mormon vote. These charges were likewise met by emphatic denials.

These vigorous allegations and counter denials were followed by a heated controversy over the validity of the Mormon vote. The Democrats contended, of course, that the vote was illegal and should therefore be rejected. The reasons advanced in defense of this contention may be summed up broadly under two general heads: (1) the use

⁶⁷ See the *Weekly Miners' Express* (Dubuque), Vol. VIII, No. 5, October 3, 1848. This journal contains an article of two columns from which the above facts have been taken. Babbitt's letter was dated August 22nd and Pickett's letter was dated August 24th.

of bribery and corruption by the Whigs in their effort to secure the Mormon vote; and (2) the illegal organization of Kanesville into an election precinct by the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County. The Whigs denied the validity of these reasons, arguing that the Kanesville vote was legal and therefore should be received and included in the official canvass.

But the Whigs did not rest their case in simply defending the legality of the Mormon vote. They impeached the political integrity of the Democrats and challenged their consistency by reminding them of the following unwelcome considerations: (1) the organization of Kanesville into an election precinct by the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County was a Democratic measure; (2) the Democrats had entered actively into the campaign for the Mormon vote in the general election and as long as they were impressed with the belief that the Mormons would support the Democratic ticket, they raised no question as to the validity of their ballots; (3) as soon as the Democrats ascertained that the Mormons would support the Whig ticket they made strenuous efforts to disfranchise them and throw out their votes as illegal; (4) if the Kanesville returns were not legal why did Hall go all the way from Burlington to Albion to prevent them from being received?; and (5) if there was "no virtue or vitality" in the Kanesville vote why did the Democrats steal the poll book?

"We have no epithets strong enough", said the editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, "to speak our condemnation of the poor, miserable trickery and baseness of those loco-focos who have been foremost in their attempts to disfranchise the Mormons, simply because they chose to vote the whig ticket. These facts . . . exhibit a conspiracy to deprive freemen of the right of suffrage [sic] more base, more monstrous, more destructive to freedom, and

more worthy of universal condemnation, than anything yet recorded even in the history of locofocoism."⁶⁸

"The Commissioners of Monroe County, who organized the Kanessville precinct, we learn, were all Democrats", observed the editor of the *Muscatine Journal*. "The Clerk of their Court was also a Democrat, and likewise the Sheriff of that County. The whole matter of this precinct organization was a Democratic measure from its alpha to its omega, and a Democratic delegation was there to show a fatherly care over the election, and to influence, if possible, its course. But lo, and behold! When the sheep would not run into the fold which the Democrats had so generously made for them, they called us goats, nay worse — wolves! Aliens. Minors, not twenty-one years of age! and had followed stealing for half a century! Disappointment and chagrin flew like wild-fire through the country. The Sheriff of Monroe County hurried home with adverse tidings, and informed the clerk of that county of the desperate condition of affairs in Pottawattamie, which caused him to come to the conclusion to reject the returns or poll book, even before he saw it."⁶⁹

The post-election wrangle over the Mormon vote question therefore falls into two general divisions: (1) the bargain and corruption controversy; (2) the dispute over the legality of the Mormon vote. As to the bargain and corruption controversy, it is difficult, if not altogether impossible, to pass judgment on the merits of the question. While circumstantial evidence points to the Whigs in particular and to the Democrats in a secondary degree as having employed questionable means to secure the Mormon vote, positive evidence to this effect is lacking. This fact does not, how-

⁶⁸ Quoted from the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* in the *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. I, No. 31, December 8, 1849.

⁶⁹ *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. I, No. 48, April 6, 1850.

ever, relieve either party of suspicion. Indeed, if the facts were known, it is probable that both parties would appear as guilty of corrupt practices in the campaign of 1848. That the Whigs were the chief offenders appears to have been the belief generally in Iowa at the time. When it is remembered that charges of election frauds were made by both the Democrats and the Whigs in the elections of 1846 and 1847,⁷⁰ and that attempts were made to bribe a member of the First General Assembly of Iowa in connection with the election of United States Senators in 1846,⁷¹ it seems reasonable to conclude that bribery and corruption were employed in the campaign for the Mormon vote in the congressional election of 1848.

Concerning the legality of the Mormon vote, the leading arguments of the Whigs and Democrats have already been presented. The merits of this controversy will be considered in a review of the majority and minority reports of the Committee on Elections and of the debate on these reports in the House of Representatives. It is sufficient to state in this connection that when the results of the election were published in the newspapers of the State and the news of the rejection and disappearance of the Kanesville poll book became the subject for political gossip, attention was called by the Whig journals to the prospect of a contest over the right of William Thompson to a seat in the House of Representatives. The editor of the *Keokuk Register* referred to the matter of contesting the election in an editorial which appeared on September 28th.⁷²

THE CONTEST TRANSFERRED TO CONGRESS

Several weeks later Daniel F. Miller went to Washington,

⁷⁰ See Peterson's *Corrupt Practices Legislation in Iowa in the Iowa Applied History Series*, Vol. I, No. 5.

⁷¹ See Clark's *History of Senatorial Elections in Iowa*, Chapter I.

⁷² *Keokuk Register*, Vol. II, No. 19, September 28, 1849.

D. C., to consult with the leaders of the Whig party with reference to contesting the election of William Thompson. This provoked the editor of the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* to remark that "Miller knew he would not have the least chance of success and that he was simply taking advantage of mileage and other expenses which it was customary to allow contestants."⁷³ Nevertheless, it had become apparent that the election of William Thompson was to be contested.

The Thirty-first Congress convened on December 3, 1849. This was the Congress that was to enact the Compromise of 1850 — the last great attempt to reconcile the conflicting interests of the North and South before the final appeal to arms in 1860. The Senate was perhaps the ablest body of men that ever assembled in Washington. Here appeared for the last time the great triumvirate, Clay, Calhoun, and Webster — the leading figures in American politics for forty years. The House of Representatives also contained many prominent men. Among these were Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs, and Howell Cobb of Georgia, Horace Mann of Massachusetts, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio, David Wilmot and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Preston King of New York, and Shepherd Leffler of Iowa.

The Democrats had a majority in the Senate, but they did not control a majority in the House. According to the *Congressional Globe* this body was composed of 112 Democrats, 105 Whigs, and 13 Free Soilers.⁷⁴ From these figures it will be seen that the Democrats were stronger than the Whigs, but the balance of power was held by the Free Soilers. It was inevitable, therefore, that the Democrats

⁷³ *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Bloomington), Vol. II, No. 20, November 24, 1848.

⁷⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1.

and the Whigs should spar for every advantage in order to secure control of the House. The first struggle occurred over the selection of a Speaker. After a wrangle of three weeks, during which, according to Horace Mann, several fistic encounters took place, Howell Cobb of Georgia was chosen and the organization of the House fell under Democratic control. Obviously, then, the contested election of William Thompson was destined to be of more than ordinary interest and concern.

It was on December 31, 1849, that Mr. Baker of Illinois introduced into the House of Representatives Daniel F. Miller's memorial contesting the right of William Thompson to a seat in that body.⁷⁵ This memorial was immediately referred to the Committee on Elections which was composed of the following members: William Strong of Pennsylvania, chairman, Sampson W. Harris of Alabama, John Van Dyke of New Jersey, David T. Disney of Ohio, John B. Thompson of Kentucky, Isham G. Harris of Tennessee, Edward W. McGaughey of Indiana, William S. Ashe of North Carolina, and George R. Andrews of New York.⁷⁶ The committee was composed of five Democrats and four Whigs. The Democratic members were Strong, Disney, Ashe, S. W. Harris, and I. G. Harris; while the Whigs were Van Dyke, McGaughey, Thompson, and Andrews.⁷⁷

It should be noted that while the Kanesville vote constituted the essential issue over which the congressional election of 1848 in the First District of Iowa was to be contested, several other returns were later disputed and included in the congressional investigation. These disputed returns are to be classified under two general heads: first, the rejection of certain alleged legal votes; and second, the counting

⁷⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 89.

⁷⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 88.

⁷⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1.

of certain alleged illegal votes. In order, therefore, to understand the full scope of the investigation now to be undertaken by the Committee on Elections in the pending contest, attention must be given to the specific claims and counter-claims advanced by the contestants.

THE CLAIMS OF DANIEL F. MILLER

Daniel F. Miller declared the official returns from the First Congressional District of Iowa to be erroneous in three particulars, as follows:—

1. The Clerk of the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County, who was also by law a member of the County Board of Canvassers, suppressed the vote of Kanesville, a precinct of Monroe County, and certified a false return of the votes given. The vote of Kanesville thus suppressed was as follows: for Daniel F. Miller, 493; for William Thompson, 30. These votes should be added to the number officially returned.

2. The Board of Canvassers of Polk County counted and certified forty-two votes for William Thompson and six for Daniel F. Miller which were cast in Boone Township. These votes should be deducted from the aggregates of the official return because Boone Township was placed by the districting act of February 22, 1847, in the Second Congressional District.

3. The Board of Canvassers of Marion County rejected seven votes cast for Daniel F. Miller in Pleasant Grove Township on the ground that the initial of the middle name had been omitted, though the Christian and surnames had been given correctly. These seven votes should therefore be allowed and added to the official returns.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ For statements of the allegations of Daniel F. Miller, see the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292; *Report of Committees* (House of Representatives), 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. III, No. 400, p. 1; and Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834–1865, p. 119.

THE CLAIMS OF WILLIAM THOMPSON

In reply to these allegations, William Thompson presented the following counter-claims:—

1. The Board of Canvassers of Mahaska County had rejected the votes of White Oak Township on the ground that the judges of the election did not certify that they had been sworn according to the requirements of the laws of Iowa, although, as a matter of fact, such oath had been administered. The votes polled in White Oak Township were as follows: for William Thompson, 53; for Daniel F. Miller, 16. These votes should be allowed and counted.

2. The Board of Canvassers of Appanoose County had rejected the votes of Chariton Township for the same reasons for which the votes of White Oak Township had been rejected, whereas in fact the judges of the election in Chariton Township had been sworn. The vote of Chariton Township was as follows: for William Thompson, 16; for Daniel F. Miller, 0. This vote also should be added to the official returns.

3. The Board of Canvassers of Appanoose County had also rejected the votes of Wells Township for reasons similar to those assigned in the case of Chariton Township, although in this case, also, the judges of the election had been sworn. The Wells Township vote stood: for William Thompson, 11; for Daniel F. Miller, 3. This vote should likewise be added to the official returns.

4. The Board of Canvassers of Dallas County had received and counted fifty-six illegal votes for Daniel F. Miller. The persons who thus voted were not qualified voters, under the Constitution and laws of Iowa, in Dallas County. They were at that time non-residents of the county, and came, on the day next preceding the election, to the place at which the election was held, from without the bounds of the county of Dallas. These fifty-six votes were therefore il-

legal and consequently should be deducted from the number returned as having been given to Daniel F. Miller.

5. The Kanesville vote, rejected by the Clerk of Monroe County, should not be allowed and counted in ascertaining the result of the election for the following reasons: first, the persons who voted at Kanesville were unnaturalized aliens; second, they were non-residents of the State of Iowa, temporarily sojourning there, but having no domicile in the State; third, they had not resided six months in the State nor twenty days within the county in which they claimed to vote, as the laws of Iowa required; fourth, they were minors; fifth, the election at Kanesville was not conducted in accordance with the provisions of the laws of Iowa governing general elections; sixth, under the laws of the State there was no legally authorized district which warranted the reception of any votes at Kanesville; and seventh, neither Kanesville nor the country in which any of those resided who voted at Kanesville was any part of Monroe County, or attached to it for election purposes, but was a part of another county, and was at least six miles north of Monroe County.⁷⁹

PROVISION FOR THE TAKING OF EVIDENCE

The above allegations made by Miller and Thompson, respectively, were immediately taken up for investigation by the Committee on Elections, and they indicate at once both the scope of the inquiry before the committee and the nature of the evidence to be considered. The committee continued its deliberations from day to day examining official returns and other documents submitted to it for examination. After spending three weeks in going over the

⁷⁹ For statements of the counter-allegations of William Thompson see the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292; *Reports of Committees* (House of Representatives), 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. III, No. 400, pp. 1, 2; and Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 119, 120.

evidence at hand the committee finally came to the conclusion that it could not pass upon the merits of the contest without parol evidence. It appears, however, that Congress had not up to this time passed any law allowing depositions to be taken in contested elections. In accordance, therefore, with the practice of the House in previous contested elections, William Strong, chairman of the Committee on Elections, reported to the House of Representatives on January 23, 1850, the following resolution authorizing the taking of the testimony of witnesses to be used in the contest of Daniel F. Miller *vs.* William Thompson:

Resolved, That the parties to the contested election from the first Congressional district of the State of Iowa be, and they are hereby, authorized to take the testimony of such witnesses as either of them may require, by depositions in conformity with the laws of the State of Iowa in force at the time of taking the testimony, before any judge of the supreme court, or of the district courts of said State, who are hereby empowered to take depositions in any part of said State, or before a clerk or clerks of any of the district courts, or before any notary public, or before any justice of the peace of said State, within the county in which such clerk, or notary public or justice of the peace may reside: *Provided*, That notice of the time and place of taking the depositions shall be given by the party taking the same to the opposing party, or to his attorney, at least ten days prior to taking the same, and one day in addition for every thirty miles travel from the place of taking the depositions to the place of residence of the person receiving the notice, or to the place where he may be when notice shall be received by him, if not received at his place of residence: *Provided, also*, That the parties may, by agreement in writing, regulate the mode of giving notice: *Provided also*, That when such depositions shall have been taken, they shall, together with the agreements and notice aforesaid, be sealed up by the officer taking the same, and be directed to the Speaker of the House.⁸⁰

The resolution proposed, in short, that there should be a continuance of the case for an indefinite period of time in

⁸⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 214.

order to allow Miller and Thompson to secure the testimony of witnesses.

The reading of the resolution immediately precipitated a lively discussion, in the course of which three arguments were advanced against its adoption. In the first place, it was declared that the Committee on Elections was already in possession of official returns showing that Daniel F. Miller had a majority of the votes cast in the congressional election in 1848 and that he was therefore entitled to represent the First Congressional District of Iowa. In the second place, the Committee on Elections had assigned no reason for asking for a continuance of the case, although the House was entitled to know why the request had been made. Finally, it was argued that the resolution did not place any limitation on the time within which the taking of the depositions was to be completed. Mr. Thompson, it was contended, wanted delay. He desired that he might remain in his seat an indefinite length of time in order that further testimony might be taken if he chose to take it. The passage of the resolution, it was argued by the opposition, would therefore result in interminable delay in the adjudication of the case.

In reply to these arguments it was contended: first, that the Committee on Elections had not yet entered upon the trial of the case nor did they contemplate doing so until the whole evidence should be submitted to them, and that the committee had in fact determined nothing beyond the admissibility of certain documentary evidence which had been presented by the contestant; second, that the issue between the contestant and the sitting member was such that it could not be determined without parol evidence — the testimony of witnesses; and third, that it had been impossible for the parties themselves to determine, or for the committee to ascertain, what length of time would be required to secure

the testimony. There were many witnesses to be examined. They resided in different parts of the State of Iowa and at considerable distances from one another. Some time would therefore be required, inasmuch as it was necessary for both of the contesting parties to take depositions. Nor would such a limitation of time be necessary for the reason that either party, by giving notice, could compel the depositions to be taken within the earliest period under the provisions of the resolution. Neither party had made an application for a limitation of time. Hence, the committee had prescribed no limitation, thinking it best to leave the time to the parties themselves, only reserving the power to limit any abuses which might grow out of their action under this resolution.⁸¹

After considerable discussion Mr. Schenck (Whig) of Ohio introduced the following amendment to the resolution under consideration:

To take into their consideration all such petitions and other matters touching the election and returns in the case of the seat of WILLIAM THOMPSON, of the first district of Iowa, a sitting member of this House, contested by ——— Miller, and which has been referred to them; and all papers, evidence, and facts which have been brought before them in that case, and report as soon as practicable the state of the case to this House; and if, in the opinion of the committee, they ought to be further continued for additional testimony, then that they report the reasons why such continuance is necessary.⁸²

This amendment was adopted as was also the resolution as amended.⁸³ The congressional investigation was thereupon suspended to allow Miller and Thompson to secure the testimony of witnesses in Iowa with reference to the dis-

⁸¹ For a report of the speeches on Strong's resolution of January 23rd see the *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 214-219.

⁸² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 219.

⁸³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 219.

puted claims of the two parties in the congressional election of 1848.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE KANESVILLE POLL BOOK

Interest now centered in the accidental discovery of the Kaneshville poll book which, it will be remembered, disappeared on the evening of August 14, 1848, the date of its rejection by the Clerk of Monroe County. The whereabouts of this document was kept secret for a year and a half. During this interval it became the generally accepted belief that the poll book had been either lost or stolen and destroyed. Then it was accidentally discovered just as Daniel F. Miller and William Thompson were making preparations to secure the testimony of witnesses.

It appears that on the evening of February 19, 1850, Daniel F. Miller went to the law office of Mason, Curtis, and Rankin in Keokuk. The persons present on that occasion were Judge Charles Mason, a member of the firm, Daniel F. Miller, Ver Planck Van Antwerp, and Joseph M. Beck. In the course of a general conversation the subject of the contested election was mentioned, when Mason informed Miller that he wished him to accept the service of a notice by William Thompson to take depositions to be used as evidence in the matter of the contested seat. Miller expressed his willingness to comply with the request, whereupon Mason produced a bundle of papers which he handed to Miller. Miller, upon receiving the papers, exclaimed: "Judge Mason, you have made a mistake! You have given me the poll-books of the Kaneshville precinct that Hall stole." Mason extended his hand as if to take them back, but Miller remarked: "We will examine them", or words to that effect. These remarks excited the curiosity of Beck and Van Antwerp, who arose and went over to the table where Mason and Miller were standing. Miller declared

the papers he held in his hand to be the Kanesville returns that had been stolen and asked Mason how he had obtained them. Mason replied that he came by them honestly, that there was no impropriety connected with the transaction, but that he did not feel at liberty to state how it occurred or where or from whom he had obtained them.

Van Antwerp and Beck both examined the papers with Miller. Attention was called to the signatures of the election officers, the names of the voters, the number of ballots cast, and to the fact that the poll book was gotten up in good style. Miller thereupon returned the poll book to Mason with the remark that he should keep it and let no one else have it, observing further that if he found it in the hands of any other person he would take it at the peril of his life.⁸⁴

The news of the accidental discovery of the Kanesville poll book spread rapidly over the State and immediately revived the indignation which its sudden disappearance had occasioned among the Whigs a year and a half before. On February 22nd, a Keokuk correspondent wrote a letter to J. G. Edwards, editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye*, in which he called attention to the public agitation over the discovery of the poll book in the following terms:

It is now three days since the stolen poll books were discovered, yet the excitement occasioned by it, still continues. Go where you may, into houses of public resort, into private habitations or on the streets, the theme of conversation is, the stolen poll books and the singular means by which they were brought to light. And it is truly gratifying to hear the sentiments of indignation expressed by the honest men of all parties against the perpetration of theft.

Most of the citizens here, are not inclined to believe that Judge Mason was concerned in the original 'taking' but they insist that as he was found in possession of the stolen property, he must, to clear

⁸⁴ Testimony of Joseph M. Beck and Ver Planck Van Antwerp, printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 19-21.

himself, make an exposure of the whole affair. Judge Mason is one of Thompson's counsel and attorneys, for the purpose of impeaching a portion of Miller's votes, but it is certainly no part of his professional duties to secrete stolen goods. The attorney may defend the horse thief when indicted, without censure, but it is no part of his duties to secrete the stolen horse in his stable.

My own opinion is that Thompson had the stolen books with him at Washington City, and that when he procured 100 days to take testimony in, he forwarded them through mail to Judge Mason for some purpose connected with his defence.

Hall, whose connection with the 'taking' has always been strongly suspected, left this place next morning after the discovery, under circumstances of suspicion, which induce many to believe that he fled through fear that Miller might cause him to be arrested.⁸⁵

Especially bitter was the editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* in his arraignment of the Democratic leaders who were implicated in the poll book "transaction". He condemned the "whole of this transaction, from beginning to end", as "most infamous", as "an act which strikes the deadliest blow at freedom", "destroys the elective franchise, and at one fell swoop nullifies the boasted blessing of the ballot-box." With these general remarks, the editor addressed himself in particular to Hall and Mason as follows:

Whatever may have been our personal respect for some of those who are implicated in this transaction, justice and love for our institutions compel us to denounce them as traitors to the cause of freedom. If men of high standing in their party can consent to commit such a shameful moral and political robbery, for the sake of keeping that party in the majority—so hostile to all correct notions of free government—they will do no worse, it seems to us, to go a step farther and rob men of their money, as well as of their political rights.

⁸⁵ This letter was printed in the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* for February 28th, from which it was copied in the *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. I, No. 43, March 2, 1850. The Keokuk correspondent further went on to relate the manner of the discovery of the poll book, following which he appended the testimony of Ver Planck Van Antwerp and Joseph M. Beck to which reference has already been made. The letter was given wide publicity by the Whig journals.

They may set up the plea that these votes are illegal, but that does not mend the matter. They *thought* they were legal, and they *acted* as if they thought so. It seems to us too late for them to try to prove these stolen papers to be valueless. The *quo animo*, the intent, must be looked into, and it will be. Mr. Hall, or whoever stole the papers, may have thought a cute Yankee trick was being played; but every legal voter whose name is attached to that record has the right to arraign the thief and his accomplices before and after the fact, as robbers of their rights, which to them were considered more valuable than money, or any other species of mere property.

The men engaged in thus robbing the ballot-box of its potency deserve to be, and should be spurned from their party as deadly foes to liberty and right. If they are not, they will be dead weights to any party who may retain them. Mark that, ye locofocos who are still inclined to hug Hall, Mason, & Co. to your bosoms. Read the letter of our correspondent from Keokuk.⁸⁶

Two weeks later Orson Hyde, now editor of the *Frontier Guardian*, reprinted the above editorial in a special edition of that organ under date of March 13th. This was the very day of the arrival in Kanesville of Judge Kinney and the attorneys of William Thompson for the purpose of taking evidence in the contested election. The revival of the discussion over the poll book and the arrival of these persons brought from Hyde the following significant remarks:

As the above named persons are representatives from the party who stole and secreted our votes, we trust that they will meet with that kind of *letting alone* which will prove to them that we have no fellowship with those who will steal our rights, nor with their representatives They will probably find out all they can, and we shall feel it our duty to help them about as much as they helped us to find our stolen poll-books, so as to be even in civility and kindness.

In our public speeches, in our letters, and by every means in our power, we endeavored to forestall any illegal voter that might at-

⁸⁶ This editorial was copied in the *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville) for March 13, 1850, from which it was copied in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 121.

tempt to cast a vote; and we believe that we were successful: at least we have no knowledge to the contrary.

If our poll books had not been stolen, but treated with respect and submitted to an honorable examination, we presume that every citizen here would be willing to afford every facility to this delegation to acquire all the information possible; but, as it now is, they cannot complain if we are not the most communicative people in the world.⁸⁷

HALL'S LETTER OF DEFENSE

These severe impeachments of the honesty and integrity of Hall and Mason by the Whig and Mormon editors led these two gentlemen to write open letters to the public in which they attempted an explanation in justification of their position. Hall's letter ran as follows:

KEOSAUQUA, MARCH 4, 1850.

Editors of the Gazette Burlington:

SIRS:— Pardon me for imposing upon you the following communication. The recent course pursued by the Whig press in relation to the contested election in the first Congressional District, and the manner in which they connect my name with the Kanesville poll books, demands from me a plain statement of facts in relation to that matter. It is well known that the contest depends upon the legality or purity of that vote, both of which are denied by Mr. Thompson and his friends. The vote at Kanesville was under a pretended organization, procured by the efforts of Fitz Henry Warren, Pickett and others, which Warren admitted in a Card published under his own name that he had paid Pickett a considerable sum of money. The asserted organization was got up in Monroe county about the first of July, 1848, a little more than a month before the election, and was based upon the supposition that the country was west of that county. Under this organization an election was said to have been held, and the poll books returned to the Clerk of Monroe county on Monday succeeding the election. At the instance of a number of democratic friends I was present when that return was made, and publicly advised the Clerk of Monroe county. I based the objection upon the ground that Kanesville was not by any pos-

⁸⁷ *Frontier Guardian* (Kanesville) for March 13, 1850, quoted in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 122.

sible construction within the limits of Monroe county; that the supposed organization was void, and did not even intend to embrace any other country than that which lay west of Monroe. The Clerk publicly announced that he should not receive the return and in a modest but firm manner informed the bearer that he should not receive it, and that he might do with it what he pleased. When this decision was made I left the office and have never been at it since.— Understanding during the day, that the Clerk would have no official or *unofficial* connection with the poll books, and that it was at the disposal of any person who saw proper to possess it, I suggested to some of Thompson's friends that, looking to a probable contest that might arise in relation to the State Senator and member of Congress, that it was important that it should not be permitted to go into the hands of Miller's friends. My confidence was too much shaken in the verity and good faith of that election to be willing to permit (if it could be prevented) that the whole evidence should remain upon one side. After the votes were canvassed and the result announced, I was informed that the poll book had been procured by the friends of Thompson,— subsequent to that time it was placed in my hands and I gave it to Mr. Thompson.

If the Clerk had consented to have received this poll book, or held it as a record on file in his office, then it never would have been interrupted. He was, I understand, peremptory in his declaration that he would have nothing to do with it; and as I believed the poll book was not removed until the votes had been canvassed, I thought then and think still that under the circumstances it was both just and proper for Thompson's friends to hold it. The duplicate was at Kanesville, and could be procured by Miller, and this one would operate as a check upon any change or fraud that might be attempted. One thing was certain, that either the friends of Thompson or Miller must take charge of the poll book. Perhaps Miller's friends had the better right, because they brought it there but on the other side it can be asserted with equal force that if this document was to be the subject of a future controversy, and Miller's friends had the duplicate, there could be no honest objection interposed to prevent this from remaining with the other side.

The idea is lately started that the poll book was taken so as to prevent the vote from being counted, and that Thompson's certificate of election was obtained upon this ground. Nothing could be farther from the truth. No such thing was the result.— Everything

would have been as it now is, only Miller's friends would have had the poll book in the place of Thompson's. This was so understood at the time. The Clerk was assailed for rejecting the vote, and the whole whig press were full of denunciation. The Democratic press defended him; and it will be recollected that at the Democratic barbecue held near Eddyville, in the fall of 1848, that Gen. Dodge called three cheers for Mr. Barber, the Clerk of Monroe county for his firmness in rejecting the Mormon vote, which was responded to from the crowd by long and loud cheering.

It will also be recollected that immediately after the August election the whigs went to work to procure an organization of Pottawattamie county and the vote at the Presidential election was given under that subsequent organization. The Monroe county precinct was immediately abandoned; and subsequent surveys have established the fact, beyond controversy, that the Clerk was right in rejecting that vote; that it was a nullity, and had no validity in his county. The evidence which is about to be taken will in my opinion, prove every word that I have written.

I am now on my way west to procure the depositions to be used in this contest.

Yours,

J. C. HALL.⁸⁸

MASON'S LETTER OF DEFENSE

Mason's letter in explanation of his connection with the Kanesville poll book appeared about the same time in the columns of the *Keokuk Dispatch*, to which it had been sent for publication. After reviewing the circumstances surrounding the rejection of the poll book by the Clerk of Monroe County, Mason offered the following defense of his connection with that document:

About two weeks since, a paper which I supposed to be the same was placed in my hands, as the Attorney in fact, of Mr. Thomson [sic], and for a legitimate purpose. I shall retain it until that purpose is accomplished, and shall attach it to the depositions taken in the contested election case, to be sent therewith to the Speaker of the U. S. House of Representatives.

⁸⁸ *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. II, No. 36, March 21, 1850.

It must be a diseased imagination that can perceive anything improper in my thus holding and treating that paper. It has long ceased to be of any value to Mr. Miller. The certificate of election was received by Mr. Thompson more than a year since, and thus gave him his seat. When Mr. Miller commenced taking steps to contest the election, I freely made admissions which enabled him to use a copy of the Poll Book, instead of the original. He procured such copy, and is now seen on file at Washington, and answers all the legitimate purposes of the original Poll Book.

So far as I have had anything to do with this controversy it has only been as Attorney for Mr. Thomson [sic]. As such I have endeavored to conduct it in a perfectly fair, courteous, gentlemanly manner. It would be far more pleasant if this endeavor could be reciprocated. But if, from taste, habit, constitutional peculiarity, or any other cause, others choose to pursue a different course, I shall not quarrel with them on that account. Every one has in this respect, a wide latitude of choice which I shall make no effort to restrict.⁸⁹

These two communications were published in the leading Democratic newspapers of the State as true statements of the facts in the case and as a complete vindication of Hall and Mason for the part which they had taken in the poll book affair. But this did not end the controversy. The Whigs continued to assail Hall and Mason for their conduct in stealing and concealing the poll book, whereupon the Democrats replied that the Whigs were simply trying to kick up a dust in order to divert public attention from the bargain and corruption charge. "We are surprised that our whig friends should be so eager to stir this matter up, and drag it before the public", observed the editor of the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer*. "Have they forgotten that the

⁸⁹ Quoted from the *Keokuk Dispatch* in the *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. II, No. 34, March 7, 1850. The *Enquirer*, after publishing in full Mason's letter of explanation, added that "the discovered Poll Book could not have the slightest bearing on the contest of Miller and Thompson, as the former had an attested copy, confessed to by his opponent, before the committee of Congress."

people are yet a little curious about the dealings of Fitz Boodle with Mormondom by which the Mormons secured a printing press"?⁹⁰

THE TAKING OF PAROL EVIDENCE

While the Whigs and Democrats were thus engaged in bitter controversy over the Kaneshville poll book affair, Daniel F. Miller and William Thompson, through his attorneys, began the taking of parol evidence in Iowa in conformity with the resolution passed by the House of Representatives on January 23rd. On February 18th Charles Mason, attorney for William Thompson, addressed to Daniel F. Miller the following notice:

You are hereby informed that the purpose of all the testimony to be taken by me at each of the points indicated by me, in relation to the contest between us, will be to establish the truth of the allegations contained in my answer to your petition; each and all of which I shall attempt to prove substantially and fully. In particular, I shall endeavor to show that you received fifty-five illegal votes in Boone township, Dallas county. The names of the illegal voters in that township are contained in the list marked A with which you are hereby furnished.

Also, that you received four hundred and ninety-three illegal votes at Kaneshville, Pottawattamie county. The list marked B with which you are herewith furnished, contains the names of the illegal voters at Kaneshville.

I shall endeavor to show that all the persons whose names are contained in each of the lists above referred to were not qualified to vote, for the following reasons:

1st. That they had not resided in the county where they offered to vote for twenty days next preceding the election in August, 1848.

2d. That they had not been inhabitants of the State for six months next previous to the said election.

3d. That they were not naturalized citizens.

4th. That they were not twenty-one years of age.⁹¹

⁹⁰ *Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. II, No. 36, March 21, 1850.

⁹¹ This notice is copied in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 53.

It appears that Mason had told Miller to come to his office in Keokuk to accept the service of this notice. At any rate Miller appeared the following day — the occasion of the accidental discovery of the Kanesville poll book.

Several days later Daniel F. Miller notified William Thompson through the latter's attorney, Charles Mason, that he would take parol evidence before "competent authority" for the purpose of having "the same used in the contested election now pending between you and myself in the House of Representatives", as follows:

1st. To rebut any proof you may have produced affecting the legality of the votes cast at Kanesville and in Dallas county at the August election of 1848.

2d. To show the legality of the votes cast in said places at said election.

3d. To show that Kanesville precinct was organized by your political friends to aid you in your election contest against me, and that your political friends all regarded Kanesville as a legal place of voting, and the voters there as good voters until after the election was over; and that after the election was over, and I had beaten you at that precinct, your political and personal friends stole that copy of the Kanesville poll books which had been filed in the clerk's office of the board of commissioners of Monroe County, Iowa, whereby the citizens of Kanesville were disfranchised of their electoral rights, and you secured the certificate of election.

4th. That you had the stolen poll books of said precinct in your possession at Washington City at the very time I charged you with it before the Committee on Elections, and that you afterwards sent them by mail to Iowa to your counsel, Charles Mason, esq., in whose hands I discovered them on the 19th of February, 1850.⁹²

The above notice was dated at Fort Madison, February 23rd, and was acknowledged three days later by Charles Mason, acting as attorney for William Thompson.⁹³

⁹² This notice is copied in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 23.

⁹³ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 23.

The taking of parol evidence covered a period of approximately six weeks, beginning at Keokuk on February 20th and closing at Dubuque on April 5th.⁹⁴ The attorneys in charge of taking the depositions of witnesses were Daniel F. Miller for himself, and Charles Mason, J. C. Hall, and L. E. Johnson for William Thompson. These men were assisted by other attorneys at such points as were not easily accessible to the "attorneys in fact". The principal witnesses examined were S. T. Marshall, George P. Stiles, Joseph M. Beck, and Ver Plank Van Antwerp at Keokuk on February 20th and 21st, before Jesse B. Browne, Justice of the Peace for Jackson Township in Lee County;⁹⁵ Jonathan Scott, Isaac Bartlett, and J. F. Stratton at Centerville in Appanoose County on March 6th, before J. F. Kinney, Judge of the Supreme Court of Iowa;⁹⁶ Joseph T. Fales, Josiah H. Bonney, and James P. Carleton at Iowa City on March 6th, before the Clerk of the District Court for Johnson County;⁹⁷ Benjamin Gholson, Sherman Canfield, William M. Morrow, and Samuel Bressler at Oskaloosa in Mahaska County on March 8th, 9th, and 11th, before E. W. Eastman, Notary Public;⁹⁸ James G. Edwards and John W. Webber at Burlington on March 9th and 11th, before Oliver C. Wrightman, Clerk of the District Court for Des Moines

⁹⁴ This statement is based on the parol evidence printed in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47. The number of days' notice (ten days) to which the respective parties to the contest were entitled under the resolution of January 23rd was waived in order that the taking of parol evidence might proceed without further delay.

⁹⁵ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 15-21.

⁹⁶ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 111-117.

⁹⁷ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 118-120.

⁹⁸ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 94-111.

County;⁹⁹ William S. Townsend, James Sloan, and A. P. Henderson at Traders' Point in Pottawattamie County on March 15th, before Judge Kinney;¹⁰⁰ Reuben Oaks, Hiram Oaks, Even M. Greene, and Orson Hyde, at Kaneshville in Pottawattamie County on March 18th and 19th, before Judge Kinney;¹⁰¹ Lewis Whitten at Fort Des Moines on March 29th, before Hoyt Sherman, Clerk of the District Court for Polk County;¹⁰² and James M. Marsh at Dubuque on April 5th, before J. P. Van Hagen, Clerk of the District Court for Dubuque County.¹⁰³

Any digest of the evidence thus taken would transcend the limits of this discussion. It is sufficient to state in this connection that the investigation consisted of an inquiry into the respective claims of Miller and Thompson as presented by them to the House of Representatives. The evidence was sealed and transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who, on March 19th¹⁰⁴ and April 19th,¹⁰⁵ laid it before the House, and it was immediately referred to the Committee on Elections. When the evidence was all in, William Strong, chairman of the committee, reported the following resolution on May 15th:

Resolved, that the testimony taken and submitted in the matter of the contested election in the first congressional district of the

⁹⁹ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 57-62.

¹⁰⁰ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 63-78.

¹⁰¹ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 31-53.

¹⁰² *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 117, 118.

¹⁰³ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 53-55.

¹⁰⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 549.

¹⁰⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 775.

State of Iowa, be printed for the use of the committee and of the House.¹⁰⁶

This resolution was read and adopted. Two weeks later (May 30th) Mr. Schenck of Ohio offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Printer of this House be directed to print the testimony in the contested-election case pending from the State of Iowa, and furnish the same for the use of this House and the Committee on Elections, in advance of all other printing.¹⁰⁷

No objection being made to the reception of this resolution, the question was put and the resolution adopted, whereupon Mr. Schenck moved to reconsider the vote and to lay the motion on the table, which was agreed to.

The evidence as printed appeared as Document No. 47 in the *House Miscellaneous Documents*, First Session, Thirty-first Congress, 1849-1850. Arranged in no systematic or logical order, the subject-matter of this document may be classified under three general heads: (1) parol evidence: the testimony of witnesses; (2) the certified abstracts of election returns for all the counties in the First Congressional District of Iowa; (3) miscellaneous materials, including letters and editorials from the leading newspapers of Iowa during the period under consideration. The writer has already made frequent reference to this document in the foregoing pages. Moreover, the report of the Committee on Elections was based in part on the evidence therein contained.

THE MAJORITY REPORT

On June 18, 1850, Mr. Strong presented a majority report from the Committee on Elections to the effect that "William Thompson is entitled to the seat in this House which he now occupies as the Representative from the first congressional

¹⁰⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 996.

¹⁰⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1089.

district of Iowa". Mr. Van Dyke reported the minority views of the Committee, which were in effect that Daniel F. Miller was entitled to the seat in question. It was then voted that these reports should be printed and that their further consideration should be postponed until June 26th.¹⁰⁸

The contest between Miller and Thompson was taken up for consideration by the House of Representatives on the appointed day. After the disposition of a few minor matters, Mr. Van Dyke moved the usual resolution admitting the contestant to a seat "in the Hall" and authorizing him to address the House during the continuance of the case. The motion was carried, whereupon Mr. Strong presented the majority report and Mr. Van Dyke presented the minority report.¹⁰⁹ The majority report was signed by the Democratic members of the Committee on Elections (Strong, Disney, Ashe, S. W. Harris, and I. G. Harris); the minority report was signed by the Whig members of the committee (Van Dyke, McGaughey, Thompson, and Andrews). Mr. Strong requested that inasmuch as the reports had been printed but a day or two, they should be read before the debate proceeded. The request was granted and the reports were read, the records showing that the reading consumed about an hour of time.¹¹⁰

The majority report first claimed attention.¹¹¹ This report opened with a detailed statement of the various allegations made by Daniel F. Miller and William Thompson.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1227.

¹⁰⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

¹¹⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

¹¹¹ For a complete copy of this report see *Reports of Committees* (House of Representatives), 1st Session, 31st Congress, Vol. III, No. 400, pp. 1-12. See also Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 118-128. References will be made in the following pages to Bartlett's work, which was a government publication.

¹¹² For a statement of the allegations of Daniel F. Miller and William Thompson see above, pp. 68-70.

These allegations were presented at the outset in order that the House might with less difficulty comprehend the application of the testimony submitted. Four of these allegations were briefly dismissed: the third claim of the contestant and the first, second, and third claims of the sitting member. That is to say, the majority report upheld the claim of the contestant to seven additional votes in Marion County which had been rejected by the Board of Canvassers of that county on the ground that the initial of the middle name had been omitted;¹¹³ and it also upheld the claims of the sitting member to the vote of White Oak Township in Mahaska County¹¹⁴ and of Chariton and Wells townships in Appanoose County,¹¹⁵ which had been rejected by the county boards of canvassers on the ground that the judges of election in those townships did not certify that they had been sworn, although as a matter of fact the oath had been administered to these officials.¹¹⁶ The above claims of the contestant and the sitting member had been satisfactorily proved by the evidence submitted and the votes should therefore be received and counted.

These claims having been disposed of, the committee stated that but three questions remained for consideration: (1) Should the Kanessville vote be received and counted?; (2) Should the vote of Boone Township in Polk County be rejected?; and (3) Should the return of the votes of Boone

¹¹³ An abstract of the votes in Marion County is given in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 30, 85.

¹¹⁴ An abstract of the votes in Mahaska County is given in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 84, 105, 110.

¹¹⁵ An abstract of the votes in Appanoose County is given in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 27, 116.

¹¹⁶ Testimony of Benjamin Gholson, Sherman Canfield, William M. Morrow, and Samuel Bressler in *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 94-111. See also testimony of Jonathan Scott, Isaac Bartlett, and J. F. Stratton, pp. 111-117.

Township in Dallas County be purged of the fifty-six votes alleged by the sitting member to have been illegally received there?

In discussing these important questions at issue the committee reminded the House that by the Constitution of the United States "the *times, places and manner* of holding elections, and the *qualifications of voters*" were "left to the control of the States". The elective franchise was a political, not a natural, right and could be exercised only "in the *way, at the time, and at the place*" which might be designated by law. If by the Constitution and the laws of Iowa, therefore, it were required that electors should vote only in the counties in which they resided and at designated places in those counties, it could not be doubted that votes given in other counties, or at other than the designated places must be treated as nullities. To deny this was to deny to the State the power expressly reserved in the Constitution of the United States to prescribe the place and the manner of holding the elections — a power essential to the preservation of the purity of elections.¹¹⁷ With these general observations the committee at once proceeded to the consideration of the three important questions now before the House.

1. *The Kanesville Vote.* The committee dismissed the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth objections urged by the sitting member against the allowance of the Kanesville vote with the remark that these objections were not sustained by the evidence presented.¹¹⁸ The qualifications of voters in the State of Iowa as defined by the Constitution of 1846 were six months' residence in the State on the part of white male citizens of the United States and twenty days' residence in the county in which the vote was claimed.

¹¹⁷ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 120, 121.

¹¹⁸ For a statement of these objections see above, p. 70.

While it was true that to constitute residence within the constitutional meaning of the term there must be the "intention to remain", such intention was nevertheless "entirely consistent with a purpose to change the place of abode at some future and *indefinite* day." Actual abode was "prima facie" residence. The committee was unable to perceive anything in the evidence submitted which removed the presumption that the Kanesville residents were qualified to vote within the limits of the State of Iowa.¹¹⁹ Assuming, then, that those who voted at Kanesville were qualified voters, it remained to be considered whether they had voted at the place prescribed by law.¹²⁰

The committee, in its majority report, thereupon submitted a statement of the facts concerning the organization of Kanesville as an election precinct, the refusal of the Clerk of Monroe County to receive the returns, and the disappearance of the poll book.

These facts having been presented, the committee began the argument of the case. The committee wished it to be understood, however, that it did not justify the conduct of the Clerk of Monroe County or of those who took the poll book and retained it in their possession. On the contrary, it condemned such conduct as meriting "the severest censure." The Clerk had no authority under the laws of Iowa to refuse to receive that which purported to be the return from an election district. It was his duty to receive the return and lay it before the legally constituted Board of Canvassers, of which he was a member. But the action of the Clerk in rejecting the Kanesville poll book, "censurable though it be", did not affect the decision of the question whether the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County acted with or without legal authority in organizing a town-

¹¹⁹ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 120.

¹²⁰ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 121.

ship, appointing judges of the election, and directing a poll to be opened at Kanesville, and whether the votes there received could be counted legally in ascertaining the result of the election in the First Congressional District.¹²¹ As a matter of fact, the committee had found, upon an examination of the evidence presented, that the Kanesville vote could not be received and counted, for two reasons: (1) the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County had no legal right to appoint the judges of the general election held at Kanesville on August 7, 1848, nor did it have any right to authorize the holding of said election; (2) Kanesville was not as a matter of fact within the territory attached to Monroe County and under its jurisdiction.

In considering the first objection to the reception of the Kanesville vote, the committee admitted for the sake of argument that Kanesville was situated within the country attached to Monroe County and that those who voted there were legal residents of that county. Under the Constitution and laws of Iowa all the territory that was attached to any county was a part of that county and the citizens of such attached territory had the same rights and privileges as the citizens of the county to which said territory was attached. The committee was of the opinion, therefore, that the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County had the power, under the act of January 21, 1847, to establish townships in the territory attached to Monroe County. But the power to establish a township was limited to fixing its boundaries, giving it a name, and appointing a central place within it for holding the first *township* election. They had no authority to appoint judges. Any persons appointed by them to act as judges would therefore act, if they acted at all, without legal sanction. Moreover, the act of June 5, 1845,¹²² pro-

¹²¹ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 122.

¹²² *Laws of Iowa*, 1845, pp. 27-30.

vided that in all township elections, the electors present should, at their first meeting, elect by ballot three persons to act as judges of the election, and that at all subsequent elections the Township Trustees were to act as judges. The committee concluded therefore, from this view of the case, that the order of the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County was "entirely unauthorized" and "in contravention of the plain provisions of the law."

It was argued, however, said the committee, that the power to appoint judges of the election was vested in the Board of Commissioners by the general election law of 1843, the third section of which provided that the Board of Commissioners "shall at their regular annual session in July preceding the general election, where the counties are not organized into townships, appoint three capable and discreet persons to act as judges of the election, at any election precinct". The same section of this act provided also that "in all organized townships, the trustees of said townships" were to "act as judges of all elections held under the provisions of this act."¹²³ It was obvious, therefore, that the appointment of judges, for which provision was made in this act, could be only for election *precincts* as distinguished from *townships*.

This conclusion was rendered inevitable by reference to the act of June 5, 1845, which devolved upon the electors in each township the duty of electing judges at the first election. The act of January 21, 1847, authorized the Boards of Commissioners of counties to which unorganized *counties* were attached to lay out townships in these attached *counties*. If unorganized *country* was not considered as part of the county proper and subject to division, then the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County had no right to establish a township in the attached country, and the power

¹²³ *Revised Statutes of the Territory of Iowa, 1842-1843*, pp. 244-256.

to create *election precincts* there and to appoint judges was vested in them under the general election law of 1843. But the act of January 21, 1847, included all attached *country*. The Board of Commissioners of Monroe County so understood it. Their order establishing a *township*, fixing its boundaries, and designating Kanesville as the place of holding the election indicated that they had acted under the law of 1847 and not under the law of 1843. The committee, therefore, again emphasized its conclusion that the appointment of the judges of the election in that township was unauthorized by law and that the judges thus appointed could not legally act.

But even if this conclusion were not correct, argued the committee, neither the act of January 21, 1847, nor the order of the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County warranted any other than a *township* election, as distinguished from a *general* election. The duties of the Commissioners were declared in the act to be preliminary to the *first township election*. By the laws of Iowa all township elections were to be held on the first Monday in April of each year. Hence, any election in the new township thus established was unwarranted until the first Monday of April, 1849.¹²⁴

The committee urged, however, that there was a more serious objection to the reception of the Kanesville vote: Kanesville was not, as a matter of fact, situated within the territory attached to Monroe County, and consequently was not under its jurisdiction. The evidence which had been submitted established conclusively the fact that Kanesville was at least six miles north of any part of Monroe County and in a district which had never been attached to that county for election or any other purposes. This had been

¹²⁴ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, pp. 122, 123.

proved by the statement of Charles Mason,¹²⁵ which was admitted by the contestant as evidence,¹²⁶ and by the testimony of John W. Webber¹²⁷ and Jonathan F. Stratton.¹²⁸ It had also been admitted by the contestant¹²⁹ that a majority of those who voted at Kanesville in August, 1848, resided north of a line running due west from the northern boundary line of Monroe County. In other words, they resided in the territory which had been attached to Mahaska County and consequently they could vote only in Mahaska County. The committee asked, in view of these facts, how it could be claimed that the Kanesville votes could be legally counted except in plain violation of the constitutional provision restricting the right to vote to the county in which the elector was a resident. The committee then referred to the fact that in many of the States the right to vote was confined by law to the ward or township in which the elector resided and that even under this more stringent regulation, votes cast in other wards or townships had been uniformly adjudged illegal.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ For Mason's statement, see *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 55. Mason's communication was dated at Keokuk, February 22, 1850. In this document Mason stated that he and John W. Webber of Burlington went to Kanesville in November, 1849, for the purpose chiefly of determining the location of that place. He learned from the surveyor general that the line which divided townships 78 and 79 north had, under the authority of his office, been run and marked through to the Missouri River as part of the public surveys. Using this line as a basis for determining the location of Kanesville, they found that Kanesville was situated "six miles and a half farther north than the north line of Monroe county."

¹²⁶ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 55, 56.

¹²⁷ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 58-62.

¹²⁸ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 112, 113.

¹²⁹ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 35.

¹³⁰ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, pp. 123, 124.

Finally, it was obvious from the foregoing considerations that the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County had no more authority to establish an election district at Kanesville than they had to establish one within the organized portion of Mahaska County. The board was one of limited jurisdiction. Beyond the prescribed limits of its jurisdiction, its acts were null and void, and consequently neither gave nor took away any rights. The Kanesville voters were not disfranchised,¹³¹ for they were not affected by the order of the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County. They might have voted as before had Kanesville been properly organized for election purposes by the Board of Commissioners of Mahaska County. The fact that they voted in the belief that they were legally attached to Monroe County was immaterial, though it was their misfortune. Their right to vote was a political right restricted by their actual residence and not by what they may have supposed it to be. The opposite doctrine would convert the constitutional provision into a declaration that the voter should cast his ballot in the county in which he supposed he resided and thus make the elective franchise dependent upon his own conjecture. The vote at Kanesville was therefore illegal and could not properly be counted.¹³²

2. *The Boone Township Vote in Polk County.* The vote of this township stood: for William Thompson, 42; for Daniel F. Miller, 6. The contestant claimed that these votes should be rejected on the ground that Boone Township was in the Second and not in the First Congressional District. The majority views of the committee on this question were as follows:

The State of Iowa was divided into two congressional

¹³¹ It was argued by the opposition that the rejection of the Kanesville vote would have the effect of disfranchising "an entire township" of legal voters.

¹³² Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 124.

districts by the act of February 22, 1847.¹³³ The First District was declared by this act to include the counties in the southern half of the State and all unorganized territory south of a line running due west from the northwest corner of Polk County; while the Second District included the counties in the northern half of the State and all of the unorganized territory north of the line just described. Polk County (organized) was in the First District; while Boone County (unorganized) was in the Second District. By an act of January 17, 1846, the unorganized counties of Story, Boone, and Dallas (afterwards organized), and the country north and west of said counties, were attached to the county of Polk for revenue, election, and judicial purposes.¹³⁴ In pursuance of this act the Board of Commissioners of Polk County in 1847 established a township in this attached country, including all of it, and called it the township of Boone.¹³⁵ The electors resident in this township voted at the congressional election of 1848 and their votes were returned and counted in Polk County, to which the township had thus been attached. For all election purposes and therefore for all the purposes of this investigation, Boone County or Boone Township was as much a part of Polk County as was any township within the county proper.¹³⁶

The Constitution of Iowa provided that any country attached to any county for judicial purposes should, unless otherwise provided for, be considered as forming a part of said county for election purposes.¹³⁷ Unless, therefore, the

¹³³ *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, p. 84. See also the writer's article in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, pp. 485-487, for a full statement of the provisions of this act and an accompanying map.

¹³⁴ *Laws of Iowa, 1845-1846*, pp. 93-95.

¹³⁵ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 124.

¹³⁶ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 124, 125.

¹³⁷ *Constitution of Iowa (1846)*, Article XIII, Section 7.—See Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 210.

vote of Boone Township were received and counted as a part of Polk County, this constitutional provision became a nullity and the voters of Boone Township were entirely disfranchised. Their votes could be received and counted at no other place. No provision had ever been made for their voting in any other county than Polk.

But, said the committee, it was argued that the Constitution of Iowa contained also a provision that "no county shall be divided in forming a congressional, senatorial, or representative district."¹³⁸ That is to say, if Boone County was to be considered as forming a part of Polk County, then a county had been divided in forming a congressional district and therefore the districting act of February 22, 1847, was to be considered as repealing the antecedent act attaching Boone to Polk County.

To this argument the committee replied that if within the meaning of the Constitution of Iowa the districting act did divide Polk County by separating Boone Township from it, the act itself was unconstitutional and inoperative in so far as it aimed to sever Boone County from the county of which, under the Constitution and laws of Iowa, it formed a part.

The committee ventured to state further, however, that there was no legitimate reason for the assertion that the districting act of February 22, 1847, had repealed the law of January 17, 1846, attaching Boone to Polk County. It did "not purport to repeal any law". The true meaning of the constitutional provision that no county should be divided in the formation of a congressional district had been misinterpreted. The design of this provision, unquestionably, was "to guard against the division of the votes of the inhabitants of any county — to provide that all the votes of the electors of each county should be counted together and

¹³⁸ *Constitution of Iowa* (1846), Article IV, Section 32.— See Shambaugh's *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 210.

certified as an entirety, not in fragments." The Board of Canvassers of each county was required by law to certify an abstract of the vote of their county to the Secretary of State. The abstract thus certified was a record of the entire vote of the county, including all the territory which was attached to and part of it. That abstract might not be divided. The purpose of the constitutional provision "would ill be answered by severing from the remainder the votes of a constituent part of Polk county, though only an adjunct." In conclusion, therefore, the committee saw no satisfactory reason why the vote of Boone Township should not be counted in Polk County and in the First Congressional District.¹³⁹

3. *The Boone Township Vote in Dallas County.* It appeared from the official returns of the election held in that township in August, 1848, that seventy-two votes had been received and counted.¹⁴⁰ The sitting member contended that fifty-six of these votes were illegal on the ground that the voters did not reside in Dallas County and consequently had no right to register their votes there. These fifty-six votes should therefore be deducted from the certified returns of Dallas County.

The testimony of Reuben Oaks¹⁴¹ and Hiram Oaks¹⁴² proved, urged the committee in its majority report, that these two gentlemen and fifty others went, immediately before the August election of 1848, from Pottawattamie County (a distance of one hundred and forty miles) to Boone Township in Dallas County, where they voted on the day of

¹³⁹ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 125.

¹⁴⁰ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 92-94.

¹⁴¹ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, pp. 31-35.

¹⁴² *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 35.

the election. These persons all came from the Mormon settlements west of the Nishnabotna River.

Furthermore, the testimony showed the exact places of residence of thirty-seven of these voters. The residence of the others had not been proved, though five of them had been recognized by Reuben Oaks, Hiram Oaks, and E. M. Greene as having been in the party. The committee inferred the place of residence of the others from the fact that they all went in a body from Pottawattamie County; and it was fair to presume that they all resided in the same neighborhood. Of all the places named at which these persons resided, Harris Grove seemed to have been the place most distant from Kanesville and the northernmost.

Finally, the testimony proved conclusively that Harris Grove was at least two miles south of the south line of Dallas County, and consequently that all the places at which these persons resided were south of any portion of country which had been attached to Dallas County for election purposes.¹⁴³ That is to say, Harris Grove and these other places were not within the country attached to Dallas County, but were in the unorganized territory which had been attached to Mahaska County, to the south of Dallas, and hence the persons referred to by Oaks and Greene were entitled to vote only in Mahaska County.

Why these persons voted in Boone Township of Dallas County was immaterial. It was important to note, however, that they went from the vicinity of Kanesville and therefore must have known either that that place was not west of Monroe County or that their places of residence were not west of Dallas County. But the question to be decided was how many of these votes should be rejected. More than fifty men were in the company that went to Dallas County. Only forty-two, however, had been recognized by Reuben

¹⁴³ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 126.

Oaks, Hiram Oaks, and E. M. Greene. These, it was agreed by the contestant,¹⁴⁴ with the exception of four, voted for him. It followed, then, that he had received at least thirty-eight illegal votes. The committee was of the opinion that this number should be deducted from the official number returned as having voted for Miller.¹⁴⁵

The committee having presented its majority views on all the questions the consideration of which was necessary to the adjudication of the case, concluded its report by reminding the House that the following considerations had no relevancy to the actual merits of the controversy: (1) the conduct of the friends of the parties or even of the parties themselves; (2) the fact that the electors acted under an honest though mistaken impression as to their rights; (3) the fact that the Commissioners of Monroe County were the political friends of one of the litigants; (4) the fact that the campaign was conducted by the friends of the candidates as if the election at Kanesville were regular and legal; and (5) the fact that a majority of the legal voters resident within the district expressed their preference for one of the candidates. These were matters entirely foreign to a legitimate consideration of the question as to who was entitled to a seat in Congress from the First Congressional District of Iowa. The House, in judging of the elections of its own members had no discretion to exercise. It acted in a judicial manner; and the only question to be answered was who had received a majority of the votes of the electors in the First District, polled at the time, in the manner, and at the places prescribed by law.¹⁴⁶

In final summary of its conclusions, the committee appended to the majority report the following tabulation as

¹⁴⁴ *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Document No. 47, p. 92.

¹⁴⁵ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 127.

¹⁴⁶ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 127.

“the correct statement of the votes received by the sitting member and the contestant”:

<i>Election Returns</i>	For William Thompson	For Daniel F. Miller
Official abstract as returned.....	6477	6091
Pleasant Grove Township vote in Marion County		7
White Oak Township, Mahaska County	53	16
Chariton Township, Appanoose County	16	
Wells Township, Appanoose County	11	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.....	6557	6117
Illegal vote given to the contestant in Boone Township, Dallas County		38
		<hr/>
Final result.....	6557	6079
Majority for William Thompson	478 ¹⁴⁷	

It was apparent, said the committee, that even if the Kanesville vote were received and counted, William Thompson would still be in the lead, for in that case his vote would be increased to 6587, while Daniel F. Miller's vote would only reach 6572, thus leaving a majority of fifteen votes in favor of William Thompson. The committee was therefore of the opinion that William Thompson received a majority of the votes which were legally polled and was justly entitled to represent the First District of Iowa in the Thirty-first Congress. The majority report closed with a resolution to this effect.¹⁴⁸

THE MINORITY REPORT

The minority report differed from the majority report on all three of the major questions presented for adjudication.

¹⁴⁷ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 127.

¹⁴⁸ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 128. See also *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

1. *The Kaneshville Vote.* The minority urged that this was a question of much importance. In the first place, it was not a matter of a few illegal votes but one of the admission or destruction of the vote of an entire township or precinct — one of the largest in the State. Again, it had been fully established, as well as admitted, that the persons voting in this precinct had a perfect right to vote in the First Congressional District and to vote for either the contestant or the sitting member. Furthermore, it had not been pretended that any fraud or unfairness had been practised by either the voters or the election officers towards any one, but everything had been done honestly, fairly, and in good faith, and the persons voting were legal voters in the district. Finally, in view of these facts and in view of “the great principles of our institutions which seek to afford to all citizens of the Union the right of suffrage”, it was believed that the reasons for wholly setting aside the returns of this precinct “should be exceedingly strong.” The reasons given were, however, “purely technical” in their nature. Although entitled to proper consideration, they should not, in the absence of all improper conduct, destroy the votes of so large a portion of the citizens of Iowa, “whose right to vote in the First District and for either of the contestants” was “unquestioned”.¹⁴⁹

The minority then proceeded to review the laws of Iowa governing the establishment of townships and election precincts in the unorganized counties of the State. Attention was called in particular to the law of February 17, 1842, providing for the organization of townships,¹⁵⁰ and the law of 1843 providing for and regulating general elections.¹⁵¹ Under the former act the Boards of Commissioners were

¹⁴⁹ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 129.

¹⁵⁰ *Laws of Iowa*, 1841-1842, pp. 97-103.

¹⁵¹ *Revised Statutes of the Territory of Iowa*, 1842-1843, pp. 244-256.

authorized to divide counties into townships, and to appoint the place where the first meeting of the electors should be held; under the latter, these boards were required "at their regular sessions in July, preceding the general election, where the counties are not organized into townships, to appoint three capable and discreet persons to act as judges of the election at any election precinct." Under the authority of these two laws, argued the minority, the Boards of Commissioners had "always been in the practice and habit, in the unorganized country, of appointing not only the judges of election, but of fixing also the precinct or place where the election should be held wherever they supposed the convenience of the voters required it." Furthermore, it had been found by the evidence presented, that, at their regular July sessions immediately preceding the general election of 1848, these Boards of Commissioners had established a number of election precincts in unorganized territory and a number of townships in organized territory and appointed judges of election "for them all, respectively."¹⁵²

In a similar manner had the election precinct of Kanesville been established by the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County. Kanesville was situated one hundred and twenty-five miles west of Monroe County, in a wild, unsurveyed country. But everybody supposed it was located within the country attached to Monroe County for election and other purposes. There had not at that time, however, been any lines run fixing the boundaries of counties in that part of the State and therefore no one could locate such boundaries with precision.¹⁵³

It had been shown, however, by surveys made since the election of 1848, that Kanesville lay some five or six miles north of the north line of Monroe County. The question

¹⁵² Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 129, 130.

¹⁵³ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 130.

that at once presented itself was whether this fact should "annul the whole election". In answering this question it was to be borne in mind: (1) that all the persons voting had a right to vote at some place for either of the two candidates; (2) that it was not a question of conflicting jurisdiction between two adjacent counties, for no such question had arisen; and (3) that the method of voting did the sitting member no injustice, for if the Kanesville votes had been cast in a different county, as he insisted they should have been, they would have defeated his election if that election depended upon those votes.¹⁵⁴

But while there was no governmental line run between the county of Monroe and the county north of it in 1848, the minority of the committee reminded the House that "there was an understood line, a claimed line, an admitted line" which "ran north of Kanesville" and according to which the authorities of Monroe County claimed and exercised jurisdiction over Kanesville as a part of that county. This jurisdiction had been assented to by the residents of Kanesville and had never been resisted by the county in which Kanesville was now alleged to be situated. Although it had recently been determined that Kanesville was situated north of a line drawn due west from the northwest corner of Monroe County, it was nevertheless to be borne in mind that up to that time, there had never been any settlement of the question such as to overthrow or shake the jurisdiction which Monroe County had exercised over Kanesville. In the light of these facts, therefore, the minority contended that the exercise of such jurisdiction had not been absolutely void.¹⁵⁵

Again, it was argued that neither the contestant nor any of his friends could be charged with any unfairness in this

¹⁵⁴ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 130.

¹⁵⁵ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 130, 131.

matter. The members of the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County were all the political friends of the sitting member; a majority of the election officials at Kanesville were also his political friends; a number of his influential friends went a long distance to Kanesville prior to the election on an electioneering campaign in his behalf; the Sheriff of Monroe County, a political friend of Thompson, was likewise at Kanesville and voted there on election day. On the other hand, it appeared that while the contestant, Daniel F. Miller, had political friends at Kanesville, neither he nor any of his friends from a distance ever visited Kanesville at or before the election for political purposes. Moreover, no question had ever been raised by any one against the correctness of the proceedings until after the election; and the balloting had been conducted and the poll book kept with more than usual care and regularity.¹⁵⁶

After reciting the history of the Kanesville poll book the minority stated its opinion that "under all the circumstances of the case" the Kanesville vote should be received and counted.¹⁵⁷

2. *The Boone Township Vote in Polk County.* The minority argued that the Boone Township vote in Polk County should be rejected for the following reasons: (1) Boone Township (county) was in reality situated in the Second Congressional District and all persons voting in this township were actually residents of the Second Congressional District at the time of voting; (2) by an act of Congress, approved on June 25, 1842,¹⁵⁸ every State entitled to more than one representative was required to be divided into congressional districts — each district to elect one Representative; and (3) by an act passed by the General As-

¹⁵⁶ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 131.

¹⁵⁷ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, pp. 131, 132.

¹⁵⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, p. 491.

sembly of Iowa and approved on February 22, 1847,¹⁵⁹ the State was divided into two congressional districts. In the opinion of the committee, Congress, in passing the act providing for the district election of Representatives, did not intend that the inhabitants of one district should vote in another. Nor was it to be supposed that the General Assembly of Iowa in running a line across the State intended to say that, after all, that line meant nothing and that the inhabitants of one district when voting for Representatives in Congress might vote in the other district. If such a principle were permitted to prevail it would have the effect of destroying the whole district system.¹⁶⁰

Again, it was contended that if the construction insisted upon by the sitting member were correct it would carry the votes of half of the Second District into the First District, for the same law which attached Boone County to Polk County for election and other purposes also attached to Polk County the counties of Story and Dallas and all the country lying north and west of these counties. The voters of all that section would therefore have the same right to have their votes counted in the First District as those resident and voting in the township of Boone. Such a principle was not in accordance with the true intent of the law. Inasmuch, then, as the voters in Boone Township were in reality residents of the Second Congressional District, in which, if anywhere, they had a right to vote for a Representative in Congress, and since, in consequence, they certainly had no right to vote anywhere for either the contestant or the sitting member, the minority of the committee was of the opinion that the Boone Township vote should be excluded altogether.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, p. 84.

¹⁶⁰ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 132.

¹⁶¹ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 132, 133.

3. *The Boone Township Vote in Dallas County.* Mention has already been made of the fact that the country lying directly west of Dallas County had been attached to that county for election purposes, and that a number of persons not living within the limits of Dallas County proper, but living west thereof, voted in Boone Township in that county. The total number of votes cast was seventy-two, of which Daniel F. Miller received sixty-two and William Thompson ten. The sitting member contended that fifty-six of the votes given to the contestant should be rejected on the ground that the voters were non-residents of Dallas County whose actual place of residence was in the country situated south of a line running due west from the southwestern corner of Dallas County. That such persons were not legal voters of Dallas County was conceded in the minority report. The points to be determined were: first, how many of these persons voted for the contestant; and second, on which side of the southern boundary line of Dallas County did they reside. On these points the majority and minority reports disagreed.¹⁶²

The only evidence as to whom these persons voted for was to be found in the admission of the contestant. Miller acknowledged that all the persons recognized by Oaks and Greene in their testimony voted for him, except four. The number thus recognized was forty and subtracting four, the number proved or admitted as having voted for the contestant was reduced to thirty-six.¹⁶³

In taking up the second point, namely, the determination of the actual place of residence of these voters with a view to ascertaining the legality of their votes, the minority of the committee insisted in its report that the burden of proof rested entirely upon the sitting member, for the reason that

¹⁶² Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, pp. 133, 134.

¹⁶³ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 134.

since the judges of election had received the votes in question as legal votes and the Board of Canvassers had allowed them, every presumption was in favor of their legality until the contrary should be fully established. In the second place, the sitting member had failed to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the votes thus received and counted were illegal. That is to say, no line had as yet been run through that section of country where these voters resided, showing the southern boundary line of Dallas County, and hence it was not possible to prove that these voters resided outside of the jurisdiction of said county.

Furthermore, an examination of the facts showed that there were but ten votes which could with any kind of propriety be pronounced illegal. In view of all these facts the minority of the committee recommended the rejection of ten votes given to the contestant in Boone Township, Dallas County.¹⁶⁴

The other questions submitted to the Committee on Elections for investigation need not be discussed, for the minority report was in substantial agreement with the majority report in the findings. It was conceded that Daniel F. Miller was entitled to the seven rejected votes in Marion County¹⁶⁵ and that the votes which had been given to William Thompson and Daniel F. Miller respectively in White Oak Township of Mahaska County and in Chariton and Wells townships of Appanoose County, which votes had been rejected by the Board of Canvassers for technical reasons, should in all cases be allowed.¹⁶⁶

In final summary, then, the findings presented by the minority report may be briefly stated as follows:

¹⁶⁴ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, pp. 134, 135.

¹⁶⁵ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 129.

¹⁶⁶ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 133.

<i>Election Returns</i>	For William Thompson	For Daniel F. Miller
Official abstract as returned.....	6477	6091
Rejected votes in Marion County..		7
The Kanessville vote	30	493
White Oak Township, Mahaska County	53	16
Chariton Township, Appanoose County	16	0
Wells Township, Appanoose County	11	3
Total.....	6587	6610
Illegal vote of Boone township in Polk County	42	6
Illegal vote of Boone township in Dallas County	0	10
Total.....	42	16
Deducting the illegal vote of Boone township in Polk County and of Boone township in Dallas County the final result stood..	6545	6594
Majority for Daniel F. Miller		49

The minority report was concluded with seven resolutions recommending the adoption of the above findings.¹⁶⁷

THE VOTE IN THE COMMITTEE

This review of the reports of the Committee on Elections would be incomplete without an analysis of the vote of the committee on each of the seven propositions submitted by the claimants to the contested seat in Congress. The committee was unanimously in favor of counting the Pleasant Grove Township vote in Marion County, the White Oak

¹⁶⁷ Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress, 1834-1865*, p. 135.

Township vote in Mahaska County, and the Chariton Township vote in Appanoose County. On the question as to whether the Wells Township vote in Appanoose County should be counted the vote of the committee stood eight in favor and one opposed — Andrews alone voting in the negative.¹⁶⁸

On the three major questions there was not only a difference of opinion as reflected in the majority and minority reports of the committee, but also a difference in the vote on each of those questions. On the question as to whether the Kanesville vote should be received the vote stood five in favor and four opposed.¹⁶⁹ All the Whig members favored the reception of the Kanesville vote, whereas all the Democratic members opposed it, except Ashe, who voted with the Whigs. Thus, while the majority report argued against the reception of the Kanesville vote, a majority of the committee nevertheless favored its reception. The majority report overcame this inconsistency, however, by counting in the Kanesville vote and announcing that even if this vote were admitted Mr. Thompson would still have a majority of fifteen votes.

The Boone Township vote in Polk County was rejected by the committee by a vote of six to three — S. W. Harris and I. G. Harris joining with the Whig members in voting in the affirmative, and Strong, Disney, and Ashe alone voting in the negative.¹⁷⁰ Here again it is to be noted that while the majority report argued against the rejection of this vote and indeed did not reject it, the majority of the committee voted in favor of its rejection. Had the majority report rejected the Boone Township vote in Polk County and subtracted it from the total number as it did in the case of the

¹⁶⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

¹⁶⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

¹⁷⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

Kanesville vote, Daniel F. Miller would have had a majority of 21 votes.

Finally, on the question as to whether the votes in Boone Township, Dallas County, should be rejected, the vote of the committee stood six in favor and two opposed — McGaughy and Andrews voting in the negative and Thompson not voting.¹⁷¹ It will be recalled that the difference between the majority and minority reports on this question was not as to whether the votes thus proven illegal should be rejected, for on this point they agreed, but as to how many of said votes had actually been proved to be illegal.

It is apparent from the foregoing analysis of the votes of the Committee on Elections that on every one of the questions presented there had been "such a decision by a majority of the committee as to give the contestant the seat which he claims."¹⁷² That this was not, however, the final judgment of the committee is shown by the vote on the following resolution appended to the majority report:

Resolved, That William Thompson is entitled to the seat in this House which he now holds as the representative from the first congressional district of Iowa.¹⁷³

The vote of the committee stood five to four in favor of the resolution. It was cast on strictly party lines — the Democratic members voting in the affirmative and the Whig members voting in the negative.¹⁷⁴ The contest was now transferred to the House of Representatives for final decision.

THE DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The debate in the House occupied four days, beginning on Wednesday, June 26th, and closing on Saturday, June 29th.

¹⁷¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

¹⁷² Bartlett's *Contested Election Cases in Congress*, 1834-1865, p. 129.

¹⁷³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

¹⁷⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1292.

The speeches in defense of the majority report were delivered by Strong,¹⁷⁵ Disney,¹⁷⁶ and I. G. Harris¹⁷⁷ of the Committee on Elections and by McDonald of Indiana,¹⁷⁸ Leffler of Iowa,¹⁷⁹ and Thompson of Pennsylvania.¹⁸⁰ The speeches against the report were delivered by Van Dyke,¹⁸¹ Ashe,¹⁸² Thompson,¹⁸³ and McGaughey¹⁸⁴ of the Committee on Elections, and by Evans of Maryland¹⁸⁵ and Toombs of Georgia.¹⁸⁶

While this four days' debate was conducted with much ability and some show of feeling on both sides a brief outline will be sufficient, since nothing essentially new was contributed to the facts and arguments presented in the majority and minority reports of the Committee on Elections.

Mr. Strong opened the debate in favor of the adoption of the majority report. He wished to call attention to two important considerations which must be constantly borne in mind, namely, that this was a judicial investigation in which the House could not exercise any discretion or prejudice, and that the contest must be decided according to the laws of Iowa.¹⁸⁷

¹⁷⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1292-1294; 1310.

¹⁷⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, Appendix, pp. 782, 783.

¹⁷⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1301.

¹⁷⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1294-1296.

¹⁷⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1301, 1302; Appendix, pp. 818-823.

¹⁸⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1306, 1307.

¹⁸¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1307, 1308.

¹⁸² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1303.

¹⁸³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1294.

¹⁸⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1299-1301.

¹⁸⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1302, 1303.

¹⁸⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1307.

¹⁸⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1293. The greater part of Strong's speech was devoted to an examination of "the testimony that was applicable to the case."

Mr. Thompson of Tennessee, who was one of the minority members of the Committee on Elections, argued in substance that if the votes in the committee on the seven points involved in the case were to be considered then it would be found that Miller was entitled to a seat in the House. And yet the majority had come to "a perfect non-sequiter, a most lame and illogical conclusion". Especially did he oppose the rejection of the Kanesville vote. "The strained quibble about the place of voting," he declared, "might do in a contest about the return, or the right to a seat in Parliament under the old rotten-borough English system. A tortfeasor or trespasser might at law cavil about the *locus in quo*, or a felon stickle about the venue of an alibi; but in the face of manifest right, to cripple the elective franchise, and against all equity to stifle and drown the voice of Kanesville, is surely undemocratic, anti-republican, against the former decisions of this House, and against manifest right."¹⁸⁸

The permitting of party feeling to enter into the decision of cases of this kind was lamented by Mr. McDonald (Democrat) of Indiana. He argued for the acceptance of the Boone Township vote in Polk County, and pointed out the inconsistency of the minority in insisting upon the counting of the votes of the Kanesville precinct, which was north of Monroe County, and at the same time acquiescing in the rejection of the votes in Dallas County which came from the country south of the southern line of that county. He declared that the Mormons at Kanesville had no right to vote, since they were "mere wanderers in search of a home", and that the organization of the Kanesville precinct was not the work of the Democrats, but was managed by the Whigs under the leadership of Fitz Henry Warren and "paid for out of the funds of the Whig central committee of Iowa".¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1294.

¹⁸⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1294-1296.

The ablest speech of the entire debate was delivered by Mr. McGaughey of Indiana, who spoke against the majority report. He pointed out the discrepancies between the votes in the Committee on Elections on the seven points decided and the final report of the majority, which presented the "singular anomaly of men agreeing in a result, and disagreeing about the very facts necessary to produce that result." In fact, he said, the real minority report had been given under the caption of a majority report; while the real majority report had been termed a minority report. This was an important consideration because many members of the House were accustomed to inquire simply "which way the majority of the committee having charge of the subject have decided it, and then go with that majority, without further investigation."

Turning to the Kaneshville poll book episode, Mr. McGaughey contended that the responsibility for this transaction should be placed, not on the Clerk of Monroe County, but on J. C. Hall for fraudulently taking the poll book and on William Thompson for keeping it in his possession and concealing it, when he knew that it had been stolen, from the spring of 1849 to the spring of 1850. Even if Thompson had been fairly elected, said the speaker, his conduct with reference to the Kaneshville poll book made it "the duty of every honorable man, on this floor, to expel him." Thompson should have returned the poll book to the Clerk immediately.

Coming now to the essential issues in the contest, Mr. McGaughey presented the following argument which constitutes the strongest defense of accepting the Kaneshville returns and the Boone Township vote in Dallas County that was offered during the course of the controversy:

Now in order to give these Iowa laws a proper construction, we must look to the circumstances under which they were enacted, the

condition of the country at the time, and the objects intended to be accomplished. The eastern part of the State had been first settled, and organized into counties, and there was also a large tract of country lying west of those organized counties, of more than a hundred and fifty miles in width, and extending north and south along the entire western side of the State; this country was an entire wilderness, unsurveyed, and but few settlements scattered through it. In order to bring these sparse settlements under the legal jurisdiction of the State, and confer upon them also the rights of citizenship, laws were passed attaching to the organized counties, all the territory lying west of them for election, revenue, and judicial purposes. The Legislature must have known, when they passed those laws, that there was no means of knowing exactly and certainly the location of settlements one hundred and fifty miles west, in a wilderness without roads, and unsurveyed; and hence the Legislature could not have designed that in elections the people should lose their right of voting because the county court should, in organizing a precinct, or township, make a slight mistake, and organize a precinct a few miles, or a half mile, north or south of a line running due west from either side of the county. The Legislature must have foreseen, that if their laws were to have a rigid and technical construction, that the laws would be rendered totally inoperative. All the people on the Missouri river, within fifty miles of Kanesville, seem by the evidence to have been honestly mistaken as to what counties they were west of, and the county court of Monroe county labored under a like mistake, supposing Kanesville to lie west of Monroe county. But it seems that when the Government came to run out its township lines, it was ascertained for the first time that all were a little mistaken. The Legislature must, as I said before, have foreseen that just such mistakes would occur. In view of these facts, I hold that the only way to make these laws operative and effectual, to carry out the object for which they were passed, is to give them a liberal construction; and by all means this ought to be done in favor of a people in the exercise of their elective franchise — a right so inestimably dear to freemen. Upon these principles, therefore, I hold that the Kanesville vote ought to be received and counted, and for the same reasons also the vote in Boone township, in Dallas county, should be received.

The one remaining question was whether or not the Boone

Township vote in Polk County should be counted. This question Mr. McGaughey answered in the negative by elaborating on the argument advanced in the minority report to the effect that Boone County belonged in the Second Congressional District.¹⁹⁰

Mr. Shepherd Leffler of Iowa delivered a speech of considerable length in which he went out of his way to discuss the character and history of the Mormons, and to say much that was both irrelevant and unwarranted. Aside from this his speech was merely a repetition of the arguments in support of the majority report.¹⁹¹

Mr. Ashe explained that he had voted in committee in favor of receiving the Kanesville returns because the voters believed that Kanesville lay due west of Monroe County. The error was not discovered until later, and the Kanesville voters were not responsible for this error but rather the Board of Commissioners of Monroe County who had admitted Kanesville into that county for election purposes. He stated that there was evidence before the committee to the effect that the Kanesville people had been taxed under the jurisdiction of Monroe County and that they had paid their taxes. Kanesville, therefore, was as much a part of Monroe County for election purposes as for revenue purposes.

Mr. Ashe also contended that the Boone Township vote in Polk County should be counted, inasmuch as the voters in this township had been compelled to bear the burden of taxation in Polk County. But in conclusion, according to the reporter, Mr. Ashe "went over the lists of votes, and after making such changes as are necessary to shape it to the resolutions reported by the majority of the Committee on

¹⁹⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1299-1301.

¹⁹¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1301, 1302; Appendix, pp. 818-823.

elections, he made it appear by the result that the sitting member was elected by a majority of thirteen.”¹⁹²

An elaborate speech in favor of the minority report was made by Mr. Toombs of Georgia, who, a few years later, was the champion of James Harlan in his contest for a seat as United States Senator from Iowa. He was “opposed to the rejection of the vote of any citizen because the voter had not deposited his vote under or over a given line.”¹⁹³

No sooner had Toombs concluded his appeal than Mr. Van Dyke, who had been waiting for a favorable opportunity, made a motion to amend the resolution reported by Mr. Strong for the majority of the Committee on Elections to the effect that William Thompson was entitled to his seat. Mr. Van Dyke proposed to amend this resolution by striking out everything after the word “Resolved” and inserting in lieu thereof the seven resolutions offered in the minority report, together with an additional one:

1. *Resolved*, That the seven votes cast at Pleasant Grove, with the middle letter of the contestant’s name omitted, be allowed and counted for him.

2. *Resolved*, That the vote cast at Kanesville be allowed and counted as a legal vote.

3. *Resolved*, That the vote cast at White Oak be counted and allowed as a legal vote.

4. *Resolved*, That the vote cast at Chariton be allowed and counted as a legal vote.

5. *Resolved*, That the vote cast in Wells township be allowed and counted as a legal vote.

6. *Resolved*, That the vote cast in the township of Boone, in the county of Polk, in the second district, be disallowed and deducted from the votes counted for the first district.

7. *Resolved*, That the votes cast in the county of Dallas, by persons proved to have been residing at the time south of the southerly line of Dallas, be rejected and disallowed.

¹⁹² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1303.

¹⁹³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1307.

8. *Resolved*, That Daniel F. Miller is entitled to a seat in this House as the Representative from the first congressional district of Iowa.¹⁹⁴

Mr. Van Dyke thereupon spoke in defense of his amendment, following, in the main, the arguments set forth in the minority report and paying special attention to the Kanesville vote. "Suppose a line had been run", he said, "from the northwest corner of Monroe county due west to the Missouri river, and that had been found wrong: if it had been marked by metes and bounds, and all had understood it at the time as correct, and if afterwards it should have turned out — after the election — to be wrong, would you say that all the votes and acts, during the continuance of this error, should be all invalid? The county of Monroe claimed jurisdiction over Kanesville, and exercised it."¹⁹⁵

At the conclusion of this speech Mr. Burt of South Carolina moved the previous question. Mr. Strong then arose to claim his right to close the debate on the motion which he had introduced, and there ensued a parliamentary wrangle concerning this point. Finally, however, Mr. Strong gained the floor¹⁹⁶ and spoke at considerable length in support of the adoption of the original resolution of the majority report. In conclusion, he called upon the House "to decide this question according to the principles upon which, as a judicial tribunal, they were bound to adjudicate all such cases, without traveling beyond the bounds prescribed by the Constitution, without conferring rights which the State Constitution of Iowa did not give, for they could not give rights which her constitution denied without a palpable violation of the Constitution of the United States."¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1307, 1311.

¹⁹⁵ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1307, 1308.

¹⁹⁶ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1308, 1310.

¹⁹⁷ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1310, 1311.

THE FINAL VOTE ON THE CONTESTED ELECTION

The previous question having been moved and sustained and the debate concluded, the question now before the House was on the adoption of the eight amendatory resolutions proposed by Mr. Van Dyke¹⁹⁸ to the original resolution reported by Mr. Strong. The vote on the question was announced as follows: in favor of the amendatory resolutions, 95; opposed, 94.¹⁹⁹ The Speaker thereupon voted in the negative and so the amendatory resolutions proposed by Mr. Van Dyke were rejected as a whole by the vote of the Speaker, and Daniel F. Miller was excluded from the seat thus contested.²⁰⁰

The question now recurred upon the adoption of the original resolution reported by Mr. Strong. After considerable filibustering on the part of the Democrats, in the midst of which great confusion and excitement prevailed, the question was finally taken and decided in the negative as follows: in favor of the resolution, 94; opposed, 102. Thus the resolution proposed by Mr. Strong was likewise rejected and it was decided that William Thompson was not entitled to the seat contested by Daniel F. Miller.²⁰¹

Mr. McGaughey thereupon introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That a vacancy exists in this House from the first congressional district of the State of Iowa, and that the Speaker be requested to notify the Governor of said State thereof.²⁰²

After considerable discussion as to the necessity of such a resolution the question was taken and the resolution was adopted by a vote of 109 to 84.²⁰³

¹⁹⁸ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1311.

¹⁹⁹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1311.

²⁰⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1311.

²⁰¹ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1311, 1312, 1315.

²⁰² *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1315.

²⁰³ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, pp. 1315-1317.

Following this action Mr. Van Dyke offered a resolution providing for the payment of the expenses of the contest and the mileage and per diem expenses of Mr. Miller. The reception of the resolution was objected to by Mr. Jones (Democrat) of Tennessee and it was rejected, whereupon the House adjourned.²⁰⁴

Thus did the House of Representatives declare, that in view of the evidence presented, neither Daniel F. Miller nor William Thompson was entitled to a seat in Congress and that a vacancy existed in the office of Congressman from the First District of Iowa. Or, in other words, the House of Representatives acknowledged its incompetence to pass upon the merits of the contest and so referred the whole matter back again to the people of Iowa.

THE SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

"Congress has sent Thompson and myself back to run our election over. I will speak in Keokuk this day two weeks."²⁰⁵ Thus ran Daniel F. Miller's laconic dispatch from Washington informing his constituents of the final action taken by the House of Representatives.

The receipt of this news at once evoked bitter comment from the leading party editors in the First Congressional District. The editor of the *Burlington Hawk-Eye* made the simple comment that "The First Congressional District in this state is now unrepresented."²⁰⁶ "Well, who 'unrepresented' it at this important crisis?" asked the *Iowa Capital Reporter*. "Answer: Ninety-five as highhanded and villainous whig votes as were ever cast in Congress."²⁰⁷ To this statement the editor of the *Muscatine Journal* replied: "If 'ninety-five highhanded and villainous Whig votes'

²⁰⁴ *Congressional Globe*, 1st Session, 31st Congress, p. 1317.

²⁰⁵ *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. II, No. 6, July 6, 1850.

²⁰⁶ Quoted in the *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. II, No. 8, July 20, 1850.

²⁰⁷ Quoted in the *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. II, No. 8, July 20, 1850.

could do all the above, how many poll books will the Locos have to steal this time to have the district *represented* again?" "After Thompson holding his seat for seven months," continued the editor, "the wise Locofocos of the House of Representatives have come to the conclusion that nobody was elected in the first Congressional district. Although the House has decided against Miller, to whom the seat rightfully belongs, the people will no doubt elect him by a triumphant majority, and make the poll book thieves look more sheepish than did Judge Mason when the stolen poll books were found in his pocket."²⁰⁸

While the party editors thus revived the bitterness of nearly two years earlier, the regular congressional campaign and election of 1850 was held. With this out of the way, the attention of the people was directed to the coming special election. In accordance with the power vested in him by the act of January 24, 1848, providing for the election of Representatives in Congress,²⁰⁹ Governor Briggs issued a proclamation directing a special election to be held on September 24th for the purpose of filling the vacancy in the office of Congressman from the First District.²¹⁰ Notice of this election was dispatched to the several counties in the district and the political machinery of the respective parties was again put into operation for the brief though spirited contest which was to ensue.

In the meantime William Thompson returned to Iowa and addressed the following letter to his constituents:

In August, 1848, during my absence, you elected me to represent you in the present Congress by an official majority of 386 votes and by a real majority of the legally qualified votes cast at that election of over 470; but notwithstanding this a combination of the whig

²⁰⁸ *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. II, No. 8, July 20, 1850.

²⁰⁹ For a copy of this act see the writer's article in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. X, pp. 501, 502.

²¹⁰ *The Burlington Tri-weekly Telegraph*, Vol. I, No. 39, September 5, 1850.

members of Congress with the ultra free soilers on the one hand and the ultra southern members on the other, in direct opposition to the Constitution and laws of your State, and in violation of the authority vested in them by the Constitution of the United States, succeeded in vacating the seat. This high-handed and flagrant act has deprived you of a representation in Congress at one of the most critical periods of our government a period when, not only the interests of your own State and district require attention, but when the greatest questions of the nation are at issue and the perpetuity of our glorious Union itself, menaced and in danger.

The present session of Congress will, doubtless, be brought to a close before another election can be held for the purpose of supplying the vacancy, but it is important that it should be filled by the commencement of the next session and for this purpose a special election will be ordered.

It has now been more than two years since you, by our time-honored and well approved usages, placed my name before the public as a candidate and will, very soon, be two years since you paid me the distinguished compliment of an election. Since that time many and important changes have taken place, both in our own State and the whole country. Our population has greatly increased and our wants have multiplied; our improvements have progressed and our donations have been curtailed and crippled. While the old landmarks of party politics remain unchanged and immutable, pointing with certainty the line which divides the broad principles of *justice and equality* from that narrow policy which seeks the aggrandizement of the *monied few* at the expense and degradation of the *laborious masses*, by means of special legislation granting special privileges and such general legislation as gives money and capital undue advantages over labor, and opens all possible avenues for convinous and *Galphinous* speculation; many new and momentous questions have recently been raised upon measures, in some instances, of a sectional and ephemeral character, and, in others, for the purpose of effecting objects in a new, different and disguised manner. In addition to the old questions of Bank, Tariff, Distribution, Sub-Treasury, Special Privileges and Non-Interference, we now have the President's Plan, Doty's Plan, the Clay Compromise, the Missouri Compromise and the Peacable Dissolution of the Union, together with all other projects for the settlement of existing difficulties which may have been entertained and advocated during the present Congress.

In this state of affairs I think it my duty — having been nominated at a time when a special election could not have been contemplated — to request you to call a convention as early as practicable, or take such other measures as may be deemed most advisedly to select a suitable person to be run as a candidate at the special election to fill the vacancy.

It is desirable that you should have a candidate who can, at once, concentrate your entire support, substantially reflect your sentiments and maintain your best interests; and I know of no means so well adapted to the procurement of such an one, as a convention.

With the sincere assurance that I have no desire for the nomination, unless it may be thought necessary and proper to promote the best interests of the democratic party, and that I shall exert myself as an elector, to the extent of my ability, as zealously in the maintenance of our principles as if I were your standard citizen.

I am, your fellow citizen,

WM. THOMPSON.

Mt. Pleasant, July 20, 1850.²¹¹

The Whigs held no convention. It was understood that Miller would again be a candidate and so it was agreed that he should be the nominee of the party, without the formal action of a convention. In other words, Daniel F. Miller was re-nominated by common consent.²¹²

The Democratic Convention was held at Ottumwa on September 5th.²¹³ No record of the proceedings of this convention has been found, but it appears that William Thompson was the only candidate really considered for the nomination. Delazon Smith seems to have been the only one who contested the nomination with him. But Smith had already "proclaimed himself as an independent candidate" and had "gotten into a fuss generally with his party", and so was "treated as not one of them." Thompson was therefore nominated by the unanimous vote of the convention.²¹⁴

²¹¹ *The Iowa Star* (Fort Des Moines), Vol. I, No. 44, August 1, 1850.

²¹² *The Burlington Tri-weekly Telegraph*, Vol. I, No. 39, September 5, 1850.

²¹³ *The Burlington Tri-weekly Telegraph*, Vol. I, No. 39, September 5, 1850.

²¹⁴ *The Burlington Tri-weekly Telegraph*, Vol. I, No. 39, September 5, 1850.

Delazon Smith was a Democrat in politics, but becoming dissatisfied with the course of the Democratic party in Iowa and not being in sympathy with Thompson's candidacy for the office from which he had just been excluded, he determined to bolt the party at this crisis and become a candidate for the office for which Miller and Thompson were both again to be contestants. Whether Smith entertained seriously the thought that he really stood a good chance for election to Congress, or simply hoped to draw enough votes from the Democrats to defeat Thompson and elect Miller can not be judged with any degree of certainty. But whatever his real motives were, Smith's entrance into the field as an independent candidate was the cause of considerable anxiety to the Democrats.

Delazon Smith was, as a matter of fact, an astute political manager, an orator of exceptional ability, and a man of prepossessing personality.²¹⁵ Some idea of his ability and influence may be gained from the fact that he was Thompson's competitor for the Democratic nomination for Congress in 1848, and that after figuring prominently in Iowa politics in these early years, he emigrated to Oregon where in 1857 he was elected a delegate to the convention which adopted the Oregon Constitution and in 1859 was elected as one of the first United States Senators from that State.²¹⁶

Smith's independent candidacy for Congress at this juncture was well summed up by the editor of the *Muscatine Journal* as follows:

The above-named gentleman, generally known as — "Delusion Smith", or the "lost Tyler Man," is creating quite an uproar in the household of the faithful. He has been living on "hope deferred" long enough, and has announced himself as an independent Democratic candidate for Congress, in the First District. The election to fill the vacancy occasioned by the ejection of Thompson from the

²¹⁵ Statement of Judge C. C. Nourse to the writer.

²¹⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 624.

seat which he acquired by fraud and theft, is, according to the proclamation of Gov. Briggs, to take place on the 24th day of September, 1850. David [Daniel] F. Miller will be the Whig candidate;— it is supposed that Thompson will receive the locofoco nomination. Smith, knowing the dissatisfaction which exists among the locos in reference to Thompson, has concluded that there will be a chance for him — has entered the field and is now engaged in stumping the District. As a man of talent, he is far in advance of Thompson, and, indeed, as a stump orator, the Locos have no man in their ranks that will equal him.²¹⁷

The triangular campaign which followed, though short, was nevertheless an exciting one. A number of speeches were delivered by Delazon Smith. The party editors renewed the already familiar lines of attack and ridiculed the independent candidacy of Smith. No special incidents, however, marked the campaign. As the day of election approached there was much speculation as to the outcome. It was freely predicted that Miller would win.

The election was held on September 24th. The vote, as announced officially from Iowa City by the Board of Canvassers, stood as follows: Daniel F. Miller, 5463; William Thompson, 4801; Delazon Smith, 365; and scattering, 24. Miller therefore had a majority of 662 votes over Thompson and was elected to represent the First Congressional District of Iowa in the Second Session of the Thirty-first Congress. Miller carried thirteen of the twenty-one counties in the district while Thompson carried the remaining eight. Pottawattamie County (now organized) gave Miller 273 votes and Thompson 56. Smith's candidacy did not affect the general result, for even if the vote given to him be added to the vote received by Thompson, Miller would still have a majority over Thompson of 297 votes. The following table gives the vote by counties for Miller and Thompson and the third party candidate in both the regular congress-

²¹⁷ *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. II, No. 15, August 31, 1850.

sional election of 1848 and the special congressional election of 1850:

REGULAR CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1848				SPECIAL CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION OF 1850			
COUNTIES	WILLIAM THOMPSON	DANIEL F. MILLER	SAMUEL L. HOWE	DANIEL F. MILLER	WILLIAM THOMPSON	DELAZON SMITH	SCATTERING
Appanoose	113	67	0	119	153	3	0
Dallas	22	88	0	38	33	2	0
Davis	432	363	0	273	253	34	0
Decatur				40	53	0	0
Fremont				34	22	0	0
Henry	483	662	0	674	339	0	0
Jasper	49	69	0	77	64	1	3
Jefferson	758	710	9	531	514	2	1
Keokuk	347	266	0	171	229	7	14
Lee	1460	1264	110	1213	1067	17	0
Lucas				29	40	0	0
Madison				36	52	0	0
Mahaska	362	397	0	356	306	13	0
Marion	298	257	0	149	192	2	1
Monroe	172	149	0	118	196	6	0
Polk	300	237	0	193	220	0	0
Pottawattamie ...				273	56	2	0
Poweshiek	22	27	0	37	22	0	0
Van Buren	1028	976	55	656	496	241	5
Wapello	631	559	1	422	483	35	0
Warren				24	11	0	0
Total	6477	6091	310	5463	4801	365	24 ²¹⁸

The election returns were slow in coming in, and it was several weeks before the result was officially declared. The announcement that Miller was elected evoked from the editor of the *Keokuk Register* the following comment: "Let 662 be the handwriting on the wall, to strike terror to the hearts of Poll-book thieves in all time to come when they shall present themselves for the suffrages of an honest people."²¹⁹ Other Whig editors expressed themselves in

²¹⁸ Election returns as found in the Archives at Des Moines.

²¹⁹ Quoted from the *Keokuk Register* in the *Muscatine Journal*, Vol. II, No. 25, November 16, 1850.

similar fashion. The Democratic editors had nothing to say.

Immediately after the official announcement, Daniel F. Miller hastened to Washington. On December 20th he presented his certificate of election duly certified by the Governor of Iowa and was admitted to his seat in the House. Thus ended the most famous contested congressional election case in the history of Iowa and one of the most famous in the history of the nation.

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AMES IOWA

THE SEALS OF IOWA

[The following brief statement concerning the seals of the Territory and State of Iowa was compiled by Mr. Jacob Van der Zee, Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa.—EDITOR.]

THE SEAL OF THE TERRITORY OF IOWA

The great seal of the Territory of Iowa originated in the year 1838. Its design is credited to William B. Conway, first Secretary of the Territory, and the engraving was the work of a Pennsylvanian, William Wagner.¹ In compliance with the request of the Legislative Council, Mr. Conway transmitted a die of the new seal and some impressions on wax and paper, together with the following communication:²

The *device* is believed to be simple; and, with the highest deference to the good taste and sound criticism of the Honorable Council, it is regarded as perfectly expressive of a distinct idea, intimately associated with the history of the delightful country which we have the happiness to inhabit; and for which it is the sacred duty and lofty privilege of the Legislative Authorities, to provide wise, equitable, and salutary laws.

The slightest examination of the seal will disclose to the Honorable Council, the *Eagle*, the proud and appropriate emblem of our national power, bearing in its beak, an *Indian arrow*, and clutching, in its talons, an *unstrung bow*; and while the idea thus delicately evolved, is so well calculated to make the eye glisten with patriotic pride, and cause the heart to beat high with the pulsations of conscious superiority, it nevertheless presents a touching appeal to our manly sensibilities, in contemplating the dreary destiny of a de-

¹ This is the name given by Mr. Theodore S. Parvin in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. I-V, p. 264. The same writer has another article in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. VII, p. 41, and he there refers to a Mr. Wagoner of Pittsburgh. See also the *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1838-1839, p. 58.

² *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1838-1839, p. 45.

clining race; nor should it fail to admonish us of the immense importance of improving, in every possible point of view, that vast inheritance which it was their peculiar misfortune to undervalue and neglect.

The Honorable the Legislative Council will pardon the freedom of these reflections, which the occasion elicits, if it does not justify and demand, whilst I have the honor to remain, as heretofore, their very obedient and respectful servant, and yours,

WM. B. CONWAY,

Secretary of the Territory.

Mr. Lewis of the Committee on Territories reported that the seal submitted by the Secretary had been examined and that its devices were "admirably adapted and appropriate". At the same time he proposed a resolution that the seal should be adopted by the Council as the Great Seal of the Territory of Iowa.

On Mr. Hempstead's motion the report was accepted and the resolution adopted.³ Mr. Wallace, Secretary of the Council, was then despatched to the House of Representatives to read the resolution and present the seal, with impressions upon wax and paper. Later Mr. Nowlin offered a resolution that the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Iowa should officially adopt the seal. This resolution apparently met with no immediate favor, because at a later time the Council informed the House of Representatives that its Committee on the Judiciary had found the seal "executed with much elegance and classic taste," and absolutely necessary to carry on Territorial business.⁴ Although the legislative journals⁵ contain no record of the adoption of the seal, the resolution must have passed both houses of the legislature, for it certainly received the approval of Governor Robert Lucas.⁶

³ *Journal of the Legislative Council*, 1838-1839, p. 48.

⁴ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1838-1839, pp. 44, 47, 58.

⁵ *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. I-V, p. 266.

⁶ *Laws of the Territory of Iowa*, 1838-1839, p. 516.

A die of the original Territorial seal may be found in possession of The State Historical Society of Iowa.⁷ It may be noted in this connection that the seals of the State University of Iowa and of The State Historical Society of Iowa are modeled largely upon the seal of the Territory of Iowa.

THE SEAL OF THE STATE OF IOWA

On December 9, 1846, Mr. Leffingwell introduced into the House of Representatives as one of the first matters for its consideration a joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of State to procure a State seal.⁸ The Senate refused to accede to the wishes of the lower house, but offered a substitute.⁹ Before this measure was passed by the General Assembly and approved by the Governor, State officers had been specially empowered to use the Territorial seal until a State seal was provided.¹⁰

The Secretary of State received authority¹¹ to purchase for the sum of forty dollars a seal "two inches in diameter, upon which shall be engraved the following device, surrounded by the words, 'The Great Seal of the State of Iowa' — a sheaf and a field of standing wheat, with a sickle and other farming utensils, on the left side near the bottom; a lead furnace and pile of pig lead, on the right side; the citizen soldier, with a plow in his rear, supporting the American flag and liberty cap with his right hand, and his gun with his left, in the center and near the bottom; the Mississippi river in the rear of the whole, with the steamer Iowa under way; an eagle near the upper edge, holding in his

⁷ See *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. I-V, p. 287, for an impression of the seal.

⁸ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1846-1847, pp. 49, 68, 410, 416.

⁹ *Journal of the Senate*, 1846-1847, pp. 43, 48, 287.

¹⁰ *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, p. 32.

¹¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, p. 164.

beak a scroll, with the following inscription upon it: *Our liberties we prize, and our rights we will maintain.*"

There is in the rooms of The State Historical Society of Iowa a small rectangular wooden plate labeled "The First Seal of Iowa". It was probably designed as a model for the official circular seal described in the legislative act.¹²

¹² An impression of the State seal can be found in the *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. I-V, p. 287.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Chicago and the Old Northwest 1673-1835. By MILO MILTON QUAlFE, PH. D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1913. Pp. vii, 480. Portraits, plates, maps. Price, \$4.00 net. This large volume, which is the most satisfactory treatment of the subject which has appeared thus far, is of interest to Iowans not only because of its contents but also because of the fact that the author is a native of Chickasaw County in this State.

The Chicago portage, Chicago in the seventeenth century, the Fox wars, Chicago in the Revolution, the fight for the Northwest, the founding of Fort Dearborn, nine years of garrison life, the Indian Utopia, the outbreak of war, the battle and defeat at Fort Dearborn, the fate of the survivors, the new Fort Dearborn, the Indian trade, war and the plague, and the vanishing of the red man are the topics treated in the fifteen chapters of the book. In addition there are appendices containing important documents relating to the Fort Dearborn massacre. In chapter three (pp. 70-75) there is an account of a French expedition in 1734-1735 against the Fox Indians living on the Des Moines River in the Iowa country — an event which has hitherto been described only in the original documents as published in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*.

The book is written in a scholarly manner, with copious footnote references to sources and explanations of obscure points. Especially has the author rendered a service in bringing the story of the Fort Dearborn massacre out from the haze of myth and tradition which has gathered around that event.

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Volume XX. Edited by REUBEN GOLD THWAlTES. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1911. Pp. xxi, 497. Portraits, plates. The greater part of this volume is devoted to documents relative to the fur trade in Wisconsin, 1812-1825; while the remaining pages contain the journal of Michel Curot, a Wisconsin

fur trader, from July 28, 1803 to June 16, 1804. The romantic story of the fur trade in the Mississippi Valley still remains to be written, but documents such as these will be of priceless value to the writer who some day will take up the great task.

While the documents here printed relate primarily to the fur trade in the State of Wisconsin, they incidentally contain material bearing on trade in the Iowa country and in surrounding portions of the Mississippi Valley. A perusal of the documents gives the reader an intimate view of the lives of the early traders: government regulations and supervision, methods of carrying on the trade, hardships, difficulties of transportation, the factory system, profits of the trade, and many other features. The late Dr. Thwaites rendered a great service in gathering this valuable material from scattered and inaccessible sources and making it available to the student.

Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Volume VI. Edited by BENJAMIN F. SHAMBAUGH. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1913. Pp. 435. The proceedings (including papers and addresses) of the Association at the mid-winter meeting at Boston in December, 1912, and the yearly meeting at Omaha in May, 1913, are printed in this volume. A number of the papers are of special interest from the standpoint of Iowa history. In a paper on the *Economic Factors in the Acquisition of Louisiana* Louis Pelzer points out the part which commercial interests played in bringing about the Louisiana Purchase. *The Economic Basis of the Greenback Movement in Iowa and Wisconsin*, by Clyde O. Ruggles, touches upon a phase of Iowa political history. In another paper Forest C. Ensign, who for several years was High School Inspector in Iowa, presents *An Inspector's Observation of High School History Teaching*.

Five timely articles are to be found in *The American Economic Review* for December, namely: *The Security Holdings of National Banks*, by Jacob H. Hollander; *The Cost of Government in Minnesota*, by Edward Van Dyke Robinson; *The Express Charges Pre-*

scribed by the *Interstate Commerce Commission*, by Arthur S. Field; *Objections to a Compensated Dollar*, by E. M. Patterson; and *Amortization*, by Alfred D. Chandler.

Recent Congressional legislation forms the basis for the first three articles in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* for November, namely: *The Tariff Act of 1913*, by F. W. Taussig; *The Administrative Provisions of the Revenue Act of 1913*, by James F. Curtis; and *The Income Tax of 1913*, by Joseph A. Hill. The first installment of a study of *The Social Point of View in Economics*, by Lewis H. Haney; and an article on *Industrial Bounties and Rewards by American States*, by Fred Wilbur Powell, are other contributions.

Reducing the Cost of Food Distribution is the general topic of discussion in the November number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. There are nearly forty papers grouped under such headings as the more efficient distribution and conservation of foodstuffs, lower costs through the middleman and retailing, lower costs through municipal markets and direct marketing, lower costs through farm credits and advertising, lower costs through coöperation, and elements in a constructive program for lower distribution costs.

An article on *The First Woman Jury*, by Grace Raymond Hebard, a former Iowan, appears in the October-December number of *The Journal of American History*. This jury served at Laramie, Wyoming, in 1870. *The Old French Fort* among the Berkshire Hills in western Massachusetts is discussed by Mrs. Harriet Dewey Ireland. *Old Mercersburg* is the subject of an illustrated paper prepared by the Woman's Club of Mercersburg. Two other articles are: *An American Advisor to the Japanese Government*, by Mrs. Louisa Kerwin Thiers; and *Cholera in Kentucky*, by Caroline W. Berry.

Some of the leading articles in the *National Municipal Review* for October are: *Scientific Management in the Public Works of Cities*, by Guy C. Emerson; *The Boston City Charter*, by George R. Nutter; *Legislative Interference in Municipal Affairs and the Home*

Rule Program in New York, by Lawrence Arnold Tanzer; and *The Status of Liquor-License Legislation*, by John Koren. Among the shorter articles may be mentioned: *The City-Manager Plan of Government for Dayton*, by L. D. Upson; and *Municipal Elections in Des Moines, Iowa*, by James R. Hanna.

A study of the *Annulment of Legislation by the Supreme Court*, by Horace A. Davis, opens the November number of *The American Political Science Review*. Edward Raymond Turner presents a review of *The Women's Suffrage Movement in England*; and James W. Garner discusses *Electoral Reform in France*. Among the *Notes on Current Legislation* are the following: *Recent Ohio Legislation Conforming to the Demands of the New Constitution*, by C. L. Martzoff; *The Children's Code of Ohio*, by Orrena Louise Evans; and *New Jersey Corporation Laws*, by F. A. Updyke.

An address on the subject of *Earth Hunger or the Philosophy of Land Grabbing*, by the late William Graham Sumner, which appears in the October issue of the *Yale Review* casts an interesting side-light on the history of nations. *The Fall of Constantinople* is discussed by J. B. Bury. *The Progressive Movement and Constitutional Reform* is the subject of an article by Yandell Henderson, who argues, among other things, that we must "free ourselves from the influence of that evil genius of American institutions, Montesquieu, and his theory of divided powers." *The Schoolboy's Two Lost Years*, by Henry A. Perkins, is an article of interest to educators. *Who Should Own the Forests?*, by James William Toumey; and *The New England of Sarah Orne Jewett*, by Edward M. Chapman, are other contributions.

WESTERN AMERICANA

The December number of *The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* contains a register of the alumni of the University.

A 1913 edition of the *List of References on the History of the West*, by Frederick Jackson Turner, has been issued by Harvard University.

Fifty Years After is a pamphlet containing statistics concerning old soldiers living in and around Olathe, Kansas, prepared and published by Charles R. Green.

A *Bulletin of the University of Minnesota* issued in November contains a discussion of *The Work of Public Service Commissions with Special Reference to the New York Commissions*, by William Anderson.

The third volume of *Green's Historical Series* published at Olathe, Kansas, by Charles R. Green is entitled *Early Days in Kansas*, and is devoted chiefly to the Santa Fé and Lawrence trails and Old Ridgeway, 1855-1869.

The Geological Map of North Dakota, by Arthur Gray Leonard; and *The Relation of Ideals in Scientific and Technical Education to Industrial Development*, by Earle J. Babcock, are articles in the October number of *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota*.

Two recently published numbers of the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* contain the following monographs: *Societies and Dance Associations of the Blackfoot Indians*, by Clark Wissler; and *Social Life and Ceremonial Bundles of the Menomini Indians*, by Alanson Skinner.

In the March, 1913, number of the *Library Notes and News* published by the Minnesota Public Library Commission there are the following articles: *Minnesota Historical Society Publications*, by Emma Hawley; *Minnesota Historical Society Genealogy*, by Rose Barteau Dunlap; and *Tax Commission Library*, by Orrena Louise Evans.

The *Report of the State Education Building Commission* of the State of Illinois describes the work of the commission down to January, 1913. There is also included a *Report on the Public Archives and Historical Interests of the State of Illinois, with Especial Reference to the Proposed Education Building*, prepared by Waldo G. Leland.

An Arizona Pictograph is described by Grace Ellis Taft in the July-September number of *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*. Adelaide Curtiss discusses *Roman and Mediaeval London*. The annual Indian-cowboy fête in the Garden of the Gods in Colorado, known as *Shan Kive*, is the subject of a sketch by Felix J. Koch.

IOWANA

A pamphlet entitled *In Memoriam: Major John F. Lacey* contains newspaper comments and personal tributes.

The Public Library in Commission-Governed Cities, by Alice S. Tyler, is an article which appears in the July-September number of the *Iowa Library Quarterly*.

In Huebinger's *Map and Guide for Blue Grass Road*, published by the Iowa Publishing Company of Des Moines, there is a sketch of *Denmark: Iowa's Historical Town*.

Continuations of the discussion of the *Origins and Symbols of Masonry*, by Frank C. Higgins, are to be found in the November and December numbers of *The American Freemason*.

Sanitation, by Frederick M. Smith; and *League Promotes Protection of Indians*, by William E. Johnson, are contributions which appear in the November number of *Autumn Leaves*.

In an article entitled *The Unbeatable Iowa Spirit of '99*, Fred A. Williams records a bit of athletic history in the November number of *The Iowa Alumnus*, published at the State University of Iowa.

A final edition of the booklet called *Electric Power from the Mississippi*, in which is described the water power development at Keokuk, has been published by the Mississippi River Power Company.

Volume two, part one of the *History of Grand Lodge of Iowa A. F. and A. M.*, by William F. Cleveland, has appeared. Among the biographical sketches contained in the volume is one of Henry W. Rothert who was a member of the Senate during the fifteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth and twentieth General Assemblies of Iowa.

A few typical illustrations of *Iowa Municipal Tax Levies*, and an article on *Municipal Efficiency*, by C. J. Driscoll, are among the contents of *American Municipalities* for October. The November number is devoted chiefly to the proceedings of the sixteenth annual convention of the League of Iowa Municipalities.

How the States Build Convict Roads, by George H. Dacy, is an article which opens *The Road-Maker* for October. There is also a sketch of Robert A. Hart, a farmer living near Lamoni, Iowa, who was a pioneer in the road dragging movement. In the December number there is an address on *The Lincoln Memorial Highway*, by Thomas H. MacDonald.

Among the papers in *Bulletin Number 9* issued by the Okoboji Protective Association are: *The Glacial Story of the Lake Okoboji Region*, by A. O. Thomas; *Public Right to Lake Shores*, by Harvey Ingham; *Our Iowa Lakes*, by Henry Wallace; *The Future of the Lakes*, by B. Shimek; and *State Parks and Forests*, by G. B. MacDonald.

An account of *Travels*, by Heman C. Smith; an article entitled *History of the Presidents of the Seventy*, by James F. Mintun; and continuations of biographical and autobiographical material make up the contents of the October number of the *Journal of History*, published at Lamoni by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

In the November number of *The I. S. C. Alumnus* there appears an address delivered by Dean E. W. Stanton before the Old Settlers Association of Webster County. *The College and National Defense* is the subject of a brief article by W. G. Langwill. A sketch of the career of *Carrie Chapman Catt, World Woman Suffrage Leader*, written by Sarah G. Pomeroy, is to be found in the December number.

Among the articles in recent numbers of *The Northwestern Banker* are: *A Criticism of the Currency Bill*, by J. H. Engle (September); *Agricultural Credit Systems of Europe*, by Duncan U. Fletcher (September); *Agriculture — Export Trade — Cur-*

rency Bill, by James J. Hill (November); *Explanation of Federal Income Tax* (December); and *Long Time Agricultural Credits*, by Frank Bailey (December).

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Adams, Ephraim Douglass,

The Power of Ideals in American History. New Haven: Yale University. 1913.

Carver, Thomas Nixon,

The Trend Toward Socialism (Independent, July 31, 1913); *Home Economics from a Man's Point of View* (Journal of Home Economics, October, 1913).

Cook, George Cram,

The Third American Sex (Forum, October, 1913).

Devine, Edward Thomas,

Pensions for Mothers (Survey, July 5, 1913); *Prometheus: Social Worker and Philanthropist* (Survey, November 1, 1913).

Garland, Hamlin,

The New Chicago (Craftsman, September, 1913).

Gibson, Clarence Blain,

Science of Natural Laws for Teaching Kindness. Des Moines: Published by the author. 1913.

Griffin, Lucia,

Love's Leadings. Albia: Blue Bird Bureau. 1913.

Griffith, Helen Sherman,

Letty's Treasure. Philadelphia: Penn Publishing Co. 1913.

Hallam, Mrs. Julia Clark,

Studies in Child Development. Chicago: Row, Peterson & Co. 1913.

Holst, Bernhart Paul,

Practical Home and School Methods of Instruction in the Fundamental Elements of Education. Chicago: Holst Publishing Co. 1913.

Hutchinson, Woods,

Cheap Cuts of Meat Delusion (Good Housekeeping, July,

1913); *Playground or the School* (Harper's Weekly, July 19, 1913); *Fair Play for the Child* (Good Housekeeping, September, 1913); *Why is a Sore Throat?* (Good Housekeeping, October, 1913).

Keyes, Charles Rollin,

Antigravitational Gradation (Science, August 8, 1913).

Macy, Jesse,

France a Centralized State (Review of Reviews, September, 1913); *The New World as Pupil and Teacher of Politics* (Review of Reviews, November, 1913).

Morley, Margaret W.,

The Carolina Mountains. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1913.

Norton, Ray,

The Mediator. New York: W. J. Watt & Co. 1913.

Patrick, George T. W.,

In Quest of the Alcohol Motive (Popular Science Monthly, September, 1913).

Quick, J. Herbert,

On Board the Good Ship Earth. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. 1913.

Women on the Farms (Good Housekeeping, October, 1913).

Richardson, Anna Steese,

Better Babies Bureau (Woman's Home Companion, September, 1913); *Better Babies in Cities* (Woman's Home Companion, August, 1913); *Better Babies in the South* (Woman's Home Companion, July, 1913); *Am I My Sister's Keeper?* (Woman's Home Companion, October, 1913).

Ross, Edward Alsworth,

Lester F. Ward as a Sociologist (Popular Science Monthly, July, 1913); *The Old World in the New* (Century, November, 1913).

Russell, Charles Edward,

Pure Food Law — A License to Poison (Technical World, July, 1913); *Is America on the Map?* (Harper's Weekly, October 25, 1913).

- Shambaugh, Benjamin F. (Editor),
Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association.
Vol. VI. Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1913.
- Shaw, Albert,
Coöperation as a Means of Reducing the Cost of Living (Annals of American Academy, July, 1913).
- Snyder, Carl,
The World's New Marvels (Collier's, November 8, 1913).
- Storms, Albert Boynton,
The Master Secret. New York and Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern. 1913.
- Tilton, John Littlefield,
New Section South from Des Moines, Iowa (Science, July 25, 1913).
- Weller, Charles Heald,
Athens and Its Monuments. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1913.
- Welliver, Judson Churchill,
Making a Valuation of Our Railways (Review of Reviews, August, 1913); *National Monument to Abraham Lincoln* (Munsey, July, 1913); *Our Unbusinesslike Senate* (Munsey, September, 1913); *Triumph of the South* (Munsey, August, 1913); *Making Over the Diplomatic Service* (Munsey, October, 1913); *What Uncle Sam Does for the Farmer* (Munsey, November, 1913).

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Register and Leader

- The First Trip Across Iowa — Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny, October 12, 1913.
- Former Humorists of the Iowa Press — Ellis Parker Butler, October 12, 1913.
- Brigham's Life of Harlan, October 15, 1913.
- A Trip Across Iowa in 1876 by Father De Smet, October 19, 1913.
- Keokuk as an Orator, October 22, 1913.

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Tinkering with the Father of Waters, October 26, 1913.

Addresses at Unveiling of Monument to Keokuk, October 26, 1913.

The Mormon Entry Into Iowa, November 2, 1913.

Former Humorists of the Iowa Press — Robert C. McElravy, November 9, 1913.

Journal of Zebulon M. Pike's Expedition up the Mississippi, November 16, 1913.

Former Humorists of the Iowa Press — Robert J. Burdett, November 16, 1913.

Story County in the Days of Ox Teams and Log Cabins, November 30, 1913.

Aged Tama Resident Tells of Singing with Jenny Lind, November 30, 1913.

A Typical Horse Stealing Settlement of Early Iowa, November 30, 1913.

The Journey of Lewis and Clark up the Missouri in 1804, December 14, 1913.

Sketch of the life of John R. Mott, December 21, 1913.

Early Days at Council Bluffs, December 21, 1913.

The Story of the Frontier, December 21, 1913.

Van Buren County Important in Days of Steamboating, December 28, 1913.

Capture of Rock Island and Prairie du Chien by the British During the War of 1812, December 28, 1913.

The Mystery of the Prairie, December 28, 1913.

The Burlington Hawk-Eye

In Old Burlington (in Sunday issues).

Keokuk's Big League History When a Member of Professional Association in 1875, October 19, 1913.

Southern Iowa, Then and Now, November 2, 1913.

The Old Canal and the New Dam, November 9, 1913.

A Glimpse of Two Burlington Blocks Fifty Years Ago, November 16, 1913.

A Burlington Veteran's View of Southern Battlefields, November 30, 1913.

Some True Facts of Many Years Ago, by W. P. Elliott, December 14, 1913.

The Trade, Commerce, and Industries of Burlington for 1913, December 28, 1913.

Miscellaneous

Sketch of the life of Joseph M. Junkin, in the *Red Oak Sun*, October 17, 1913.

Account of the Unveiling of Statue of Chief Keokuk, in the *Keokuk Constitution-Democrat*, October 22, 1913.

Sketch of the life of Oliver P. Shiras, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 23, 1913.

Landmarks Left by First French Settlers, in *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, October 30, 1913.

Sketch of the life of William Peters Hepburn, in the *Mason City Times*, November 4, 1913.

The Mormon Trail, by Edgar R. Harlan, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, November 5, 1913.

Early Newspapers in Guthrie County, in the *Guthrie Center Guthrian*, November 6, 1913.

Pioneer Norwegians of Winneshiek County, in the *Decorah Republican*, November 6, 1913.

The Spirit Lake Massacre, by Abbie Gardner Sharp, running in the *Spirit Lake Herald*, November, 1913.

Sketch of the life of George W. Henderson, in the *Mason City Times*, November 6, 1913.

Sketch of the life of Pitney F. Randall of Cedar Rapids, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, November 10, 1913.

Game Birds in an Early Day, in the *Manson Journal*, November 12, 1913.

Early Days in O'Brien County, in the *Sheldon Mail*, November 13, 1913.

Survivors of the Spirit Lake Relief Expedition, in the *Webster City Herald*, November 13, 1913.

Old Marion County, in the *Oskaloosa Globe*, November 15, December 3, 1913.

- Sketch of the life of Edwin B. Stillman, in the *Jefferson Free-Lance*, November 20, 1913.
- Jerome Cabana, Aged Fur Trader Living at Sioux City, in the *Sioux City Tribune*, November 22, 1913.
- Pioneer Days in Plymouth County, in the *Akron Register-Tribune*, November 27, December 11, 18, 25, 1913.
- The Mormon Exodus of 1846, in the *Burlington Gazette*, November 28, 1913.
- James Harlan: The Biography of a Great Iowan, in the *Sioux City Journal*, November 30, 1913.
- Kretzinger, the School Teacher, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, November 30, 1913.
- The Grasshopper Scourge — An Incident of Early Iowa Days, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, December 1, 1913.
- Sketch of the life of Ira C. Walker, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, December 3, 1913.
- Buffalo Hunts Along Western Iowa, in the *Hampton Chronicle*, December 4, 1913.
- Notes of the Olden Times, in the *Wyoming Journal*, December 4, 1913.
- Early Days in Story County, in the *Ames Tribune*, December 4, 1913.
- Fremont County Before the Red Men Were Gone, in the *Sidney Herald*, December 5, 1913.
- Pioneer Life in Sioux County, in the *Alton Democrat*, December 6, 1913.
- Only Living Person Who Sang With Jenny Lind Now a Resident of Tama, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, December 7, 1913.
- Early History of Anita, in the *Anita Tribune*, December 18, 1913.
- Historical Reminiscences of Audubon, in the *Audubon Advocate*, December 18, 1913.
- Indian Graves at Montrose, in the *Montrose Journal*, December 18, 1913.
- Sketch of the life of Thomas R. Rankin, in the *Burlington Gazette*, December 18, 1913.
- First School in Calhoun County, in the *Carroll Times*, December 18, 1913.

- Early Days in Iowa, in the *Stockport News*, December 19, 1913.
- Sketch of the life of Col. Charles A. Clark, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, December 22, 1913.
- Sketch of the life of Alvah Gillett, in the *Hampton Chronicle*, December 25, 1913.
- Events in the History of the Town of Irwin, in the *Harlan Republican*, December 25, 1913.
- Christmas in Iowa Long Ago, in the *Marcus News*, December 25, 1913.
- Sketch of the life of Elihu Ives, in the *Marion Register*, December 26, 1913.
- Steamboat Race of Early Days, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, December 28, 1913.
- Fifty-two Years in Iowa, by Mrs. D. W. King, in the *Sioux City Journal*, December 28, 1913.
- Sketch of the life of Col. George W. Crosley, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, December 29, 1913.
- Sketch of the life of Mrs. Maria Purdy Peck, in the *Davenport Democrat*, January 2, 1914.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

Louis Pelzer's paper on the *Economic Factors in the Acquisition of Louisiana* has been reprinted from the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*.

Among the contents of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for October are: a biography of *Aaron Sargent*, by Frank Mortimer Hawes; and some *Barbadian Notes*, by G. Andrews Moriarty.

The combined July and October numbers of the *Virginia State Library Bulletin* are devoted to *An Author and Subject Index to the Southern Historical Society Papers*, compiled by Mrs. Kate Pleasants Minor.

Bulletin No. 1, issued by the Michigan Historical Commission, contains an article on *The Michigan Historical Commission: Its Inception, Organization, Administration and Aims*, prepared by George Newman Fuller. The Commission was created by an act of the legislature in 1913.

In the October number of *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, under the heading of *Virginia in 1677*, may be found some papers relating to the proceedings of the commissioners sent from England to put down Bacon's Rebellion, and to their quarrels with Governor Berkeley and the General Assembly.

An address on the *Civil War in Missouri*, by George S. Grover; the *Report of the Committee on Old Landmarks*, by John L. Thomas; the fourth installment of *Sketches of Livingston County*, by L. T. Collier; and some *Schuyler Letters* from the collection of Duane Mowry are contributions in the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review*.

Bulletin No. 1, issued by the Department of Archaeology of the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis) is entitled *Prehistoric Objects Classified and Described*. The writer is Gerard Fowke. While there are some excellent illustrations and while the contents are praiseworthy, it is to be regretted that the pamphlet is not printed more attractively.

The March, 1913, number of *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* opens with a reprint of the *Report of Lieutenant Neil M. Howison on Oregon, 1846*. In addition to this report, which occupies the greater part of the magazine, there are two short articles: *Oregon in 1863*, by Thomas W. Prosch; and *An Indian Agent's Experience in the War of 1886*, by Henry C. Coe.

The Constitution of the State of Washington is the central theme of the three articles in the October number of *The Washington Historical Quarterly*. Lebbeus J. Knapp discusses the *Origin of the Constitution of the State of Washington*; John R. Kinnear contributes some *Notes on the Constitutional Convention*; and Theodore L. Stiles writes on *The Constitution of the State and its Effects Upon Public Interests*.

Volume twelve, number one of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, contains two papers: *The Governor, Council, and Assembly in Royal North Carolina*, by Charles S. Cooke; and *Land Tenure in Proprietary North Carolina*. Number two of this same volume is devoted to a study of *The Indians of North Carolina and their Relations with the Settlers*.

The October number of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* contains, among other things, continuations of Benjamin F. Browne's *Youthful Recollections of Salem*; and of *A Genealogical-Historical Visitation of Andover, Mass., in the Year 1863*, by Alfred Poore. There is also a list of *Seamen from Salem and Vicinity Impressed by British War Vessels, 1800-1813*, and the fourth installment of Sidney Perley's article on *Northfields, Salem, in 1700*.

The *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for the Years 1911-1912* is a volume of nearly three hundred pages. Among the contents are: an address on *The Undoing of Burgoyne*, by Isaac Jennings; a brief account of *The Bennington Declaration for Freedom*; an *Index to the Vermonter*, volumes one to seventeen, compiled by E. Lee Whitney; and an index to Zadock Thompson's *History of Vermont*, compiled by William Arba Ellis.

The *Eighteenth Biennial Report of the Board of Directors of the Kansas State Historical Society*, covering the two-year period ending June 30, 1912, has appeared. The report includes the proceedings of the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh annual meetings of the Society, the report of the committee appointed to prepare a correct map of the Santa Fé trail across Kansas, and a list of Kansas newspapers down to October 1, 1913. There is also an account of the laying of the corner stone of the new Memorial and Historical Building of the Society at Topeka.

The Movement for State Division in California, 1849-1860, by William Henry Ellison, is the opening contribution in the October number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. In a third installment of his monograph on *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier*, Isaac Joslin Cox continues his discussion of the American occupation of the much disputed frontier. The installment of *Correspondence from the British Archives Concerning Texas, 1837-1846*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams, consists chiefly of letters from William Kennedy to Lord Aberdeen.

In a paper on *Indiana History and its Celebration*, which appears in the September number of *The Indiana Magazine of History*, James Albert Woodburn makes a plea for a fitting commemoration in 1916 of the centennial of Indiana's admission into the Union. A study of *The Ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment in Indiana* is presented by William Christian Gerichs. In a third installment of her *Sketches of Early Indiana Senators* Nina Kathleen Reid tells of the career of William Hendricks. Two other contributions are: *The Indians on the Mississinewa*, by Sarah Jane Line; and *Some Suggestions for Teaching Civil Government*, by Logan Esarey.

Four interesting contributions are to be found in the volume containing the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* at the semi-annual meeting held in Boston, April 9, 1913, namely: *The Most Successful American Privateer*, by Wilfred H. Munro; *Wisdom of the North American Indian in Speech and Legend*, by Alexander F. Chamberlain; *Some Humors of American History*, by James Ford Rhodes; and *Correspondence of John Quincy Adams, 1811-1814*, edited by Charles Francis Adams. In the second named article are listed some sayings of Black Hawk, Appanoose, Keokuk, Mahaska, Neapope, and Wapello — Indians whose names are prominent in Iowa history.

The Sources of Medieval Political Theory and its Connection with Medieval Politics, by Alexander J. Carlyle; *Charles I and Rome*, by Arnold Oskar Meyer; part two of *The Development of the Cabinet, 1688-1760*, by Edward Raymond Turner; *Influence of the Clergy, and of Religious and Sectarian Forces, on the American Revolution*, by C. H. Van Tyne; *Captured and Abandoned Property During the Civil War*, by James G. Randall; and *The Position of American Economic History*, by Guy S. Callender, are articles in the October number of *The American Historical Review*. Under the heading of *Documents* may be found some *Notes of Colonel W. G. Moore, Private Secretary to President Johnson, 1866-1868*, contributed by St. George L. Sioussat.

Publication Number Sixteen of the Illinois State Historical Library, which has recently appeared, contains the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1911*. Among the papers and addresses to be found in the volume are: *Illinois*, by Clark E. Carr; *Thomas Sloo, Jr., a Typical Politician of Early Illinois*, by Isaac Joslin Cox; *The Fordhams and La Serres of the English Settlement in Edwards County*, by Walter Colyer; *The Development of State Constitutions*, by Christopher B. Coleman; *Lincoln and the Beginning of the Republican Party in Illinois*, by Oliver P. Wharton; *The Dream of the South — Story of Illinois During the Civil War*, by Eugene F. Baldwin; and *Governor Thomas Ford in Ogle County*, by Rebecca H. Kauffman.

ACTIVITIES

The seventh annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held at Lexington, Kentucky, October 23-25, 1913.

The annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society was held at St. Paul on January 12, 1914. The principal address was one by Thomas B. Walker on *Memories of the Early Life and Development of Minnesota*.

The American Historical Association held its annual meeting at Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina, December 29th to 31st.

Both the Oregon Historical Society and the Washington Historical Society have been active during the past year in the movement for the marking of historic sites.

The Illinois State Historical Society held a special meeting in the Senate Chamber of the State Capitol at Springfield on November 19, 1913, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech. Governor Edward F. Dunne presided, and the speakers were J. O. Cunningham, Francis G. Blair, and Everett Jennings.

The annual meeting of the Kossuth County Historical Society was held on Tuesday evening, December 9, 1913. Papers were read by Mrs. D. W. King, Mr. William Cleary, and Mr. M. B. Dalton. The officers chosen for the ensuing year are: B. F. Reed, President; M. Schenck, Vice President; Ed Blackford, Secretary; C. T. Chubb, Treasurer; and E. M. Horton, Curator.

Dr. Milo M. Quaife, who for several years has occupied the position of Professor of History in the Lewis Institute of Technology, has been appointed Superintendent and Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites. Dr. Quaife is a native of Chickasaw County, Iowa. In the field of historical research he has already made a name for himself, and he brings to his new position both the ability and the vigor needed to continue the great work which has been done in the past by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Professor William I. Hull of Swarthmore College will prepare a guide to the materials for American history to be found in the various Dutch archives, under the direction of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. A similar guide to the Russian archives will be prepared by Professor Frank A. Golder of the Washington State College. Guides to the material in the Canadian, Mexican, and British archives are now in press.

The annual bibliography known as *Writings on American History*, prepared by Miss Grace G. Griffin, will be issued hereafter by the Yale University Press as an independent publication. The past three numbers have been published by the American Historical Association, which now turns over the work to private enterprise. The Association announces that another volume in the *Original Narratives* series is nearly ready for the press, namely, *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1675-1699*, edited by C. H. Lincoln.

At the monthly meeting of the Historical Society of Marshall County on the evening of December 2, 1913, the semi-centennial of the coming of the railroad to Marshalltown was celebrated. Papers were read by Mrs. A. C. Abbott, who related her recollections of the arrival of the first train in Marshalltown, and George F. Kirby, who was in charge of the construction of the road west from Cedar Rapids. A sketch of the railroad history of Iowa, written by M. L. Rogers of Los Angeles, was read by Mrs. May F. Montgomery.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, written by Mr. Louis T. Jones, will be ready for distribution to members within a short time.

Dr. Clarence R. Aurner has nearly completed the writing of two volumes of his *History of Education in Iowa*. These volumes will probably be published by the Society during the coming year.

The Society will issue in the near future an enlarged and revised edition of the *Iowa Program for Study Clubs*, two editions of which have been previously published as bulletins of information.

Mr. J. W. Bollinger, a member of the Society, delivered a eulogy of Samuel J. Kirkwood at the annual meeting of the August Reimer's Camp of the Sons of Veterans at Davenport on December 19, 1913.

Dr. Dan E. Clark, Assistant Editor in the Society, presented a brief outline of *The Researches of the State Historical Society of Iowa* at the meeting of the Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction at Sioux City in November.

Death came to five members of the State Historical Society of Iowa during the past quarter, namely: Joseph M. Junkin of Red Oak (October 11th), Thomas R. Rankin of Burlington (December 17th), Charles A. Clark of Cedar Rapids (December 22nd), George W. Crosley of Webster City (December 27th), and Mrs. Maria Purdy Peck of Davenport (January 2nd).

Professor Olynthus B. Clark of Drake University, a member of the Society, is giving a series of lectures on the first Monday in each month at the city library in Des Moines, under the auspices of the Business Women's Equal Suffrage League of that city. These lectures deal with various phases of national, State, and local government and Iowa history.

Hon. Horace M. Towner, Congressman from the Eighth District of Iowa and a member of the Society, represented The State Historical Society of Iowa at a memorial meeting in honor of the late Dr. W J McGee held in Washington, D. C. during the holidays. Dr. McGee, who died in September, 1912, was a native of Dubuque County and was one of Iowa's most noted sons in the field of scientific research and study. As a geologist perhaps his most famous work was his extensive survey of northeastern Iowa. As an anthropologist and ethnologist he contributed largely to knowledge concerning the Indian tribes of the Mississippi Valley. He was also a leader in the movement for the conservation of natural resources.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. F. B. Olsen, Iowa City, Iowa; Rev. Charles E. Perkins, Keosauqua, Iowa; Miss Sadie G. Holiday, Burlington,

Iowa; Mr. Ben L. Jacobson, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. C. S. Paine, Lincoln, Nebraska; Mrs. Mary A. Pfotenhauer, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. C. W. Pitts, Alton, Iowa; Mr. George C. Scott, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Charles B. Bell, Grinnell, Iowa; Mr. H. C. Chapin, Union, Iowa; Mr. C. D. Childs, Rockwell City, Iowa; Mr. C. E. Lawrence, Union, Iowa; Mr. Edgar Price, Council Bluffs, Iowa; Mrs. Mayer Rosenfield, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. C. H. Thomas, Kent, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Ex-Governor Horace Boies celebrated his eighty-sixth birthday on December 7, 1913.

The twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Iowa Library Association was held at Sioux City, October 14-16, 1913.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Iowa State Conference of Charities and Correction was held at Sioux City, November 16-18, 1913. The principal speakers were Dean Walter T. Sumner and Dr. Graham Taylor.

The Seventh National Conference on State and Local Taxation was held October 23-25, at Buffalo, New York.

Miss Julia Robinson, formerly Librarian for the State Institutions under the Board of Control of Iowa, has been chosen Secretary of the Iowa Library Commission to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Miss Alice S. Tyler.

The Pioneer Club of Des Moines is making an effort to secure the erection of a memorial to William Alexander Scott, who built and paid for the first State-house at Des Moines, and who donated to the State a portion of the ground on which the present capitol building stands.

A bronze statue of Chief Keokuk of the Sac and Fox Indians was unveiled at Keokuk, Iowa, on October 22, 1913.

The centennial anniversary of the birth of Samuel J. Kirkwood was observed in the Memorial Hall at Marion, Iowa, on December 20, 1913, by the Robert Mitchell Post of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Woman's Relief Corps.

A memorial meeting in honor of the late John F. Lacey was held at the court house in Ottumwa on October 25, 1913.

John A. Nash, a prominent citizen of Audubon, Iowa, died on October 28, 1913. Mr. Nash was born at Des Moines in 1854, when that place was a mere village. His father was Rev. John Nash, a pioneer Baptist minister at Des Moines and later president of Des Moines College.

The fifty-ninth annual meeting of the Iowa Teachers' Association was held November 6-8, 1913, at Des Moines.

The Iowa Society of the Sons of the Revolution has renewed its annual offer of medals to the students in the high schools and colleges of Iowa who excel in the study of American history.

The Louisa County Bar Association held a memorial meeting on October 27, 1913, in memory of the late Charles A. Carpenter.

Dr. John E. Brindley has been appointed head of the Department of Applied Economics and Social Science at the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Charles B. Williams and George H. Von Tungeln have been appointed as Assistant Professors in the same department.

A movement is on foot at Sioux City to erect a monument to the Sioux chieftain, War Eagle, whose remains are buried on a bluff near the city. The owner of the land has offered to donate the ground, and it now remains to secure the necessary funds for the monument.

The annual meetings of the American Political Science Association and the American Association for Labor Legislation were held at Washington, D. C., during the holidays.

On January 5, 1914, occurred the death of James Childers at Des Moines, Iowa. Mr. Childers was born near Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1824 and took part in the uprising twenty years later which resulted in the driving of the Mormons out of that region. He was a veteran of both the Mexican War and the Civil War, and was one of the earliest settlers of Bloomfield, Iowa, to which place his father moved just before the Mexican War.

A collection of Indian arrow heads and scalping knives has been presented to the public library at Fairfield, Iowa. These relics were found near Fairfield during the past summer when a piece of timber land was being cleared and plowed for the first time. It is probable that additional discoveries will be made in the same locality.

The cities of Dayton and Springfield, Ohio, have recently adopted the city manager plan of municipal government. Much interest is being manifested in this plan throughout the country and it is probable that before another year it will be in operation in a large number of cities and towns.

A statue of Samuel J. Kirkwood, the War Governor of Iowa, has been recently installed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Washington, D. C. The statue, which is in bronze, is the work of Vinnie Ream Hoxie of Iowa City. Each State is entitled to place two statues in Statuary Hall, the other Iowa statue being that of James Harlan.

On October 3, 1913, occurred the death of Mrs. W. A. Wilson of Waterloo, who was one of the pioneers of north central Iowa. She came to this State in 1854, at which time, it is said, there was only one small shack on the site of the present city of Waterloo. Her husband, who died in 1899, took a prominent part in furnishing aid to the settlers at the time of the Spirit Lake Massacre.

On September 25, 1913, at a place two miles west of Lanham, Nebraska, there was unveiled a monument to mark the Oregon Trail on the Kansas-Nebraska State line. The monument was erected through the joint efforts and contributions of the Oregon Trail Memorial Association, the State of Nebraska, the people of Washington County, Kansas, and of Gage and Jefferson counties, Nebraska, and the Elizabeth Montague Chapter of D. A. R. of Beatrice, Nebraska.

The cause of history in the State of Kentucky in particular and in the entire Mississippi Valley in general suffered a distinct loss in the death of Colonel Reuben T. Durrett, which occurred on Sep-

tember 16, 1913. Colonel Durrett was the founder of the Filson Club and he collected a notable library of materials on western American history — a collection which is now in the possession of the University of Chicago. The State Historical Society of Iowa profited by the generous assistance rendered by Colonel Durrett to Dr. Parish when he was preparing the biography of Robert Lucas.

IRVIN S. PEPPER

Irvin S. Pepper was born on a farm in Davis County, Iowa, on June 10, 1876. He graduated from the Southern Iowa Normal at Bloomfield and afterwards taught school for a time. Later he became secretary to Congressman Martin J. Wade, and while serving in this capacity he studied law, graduating from the Law School of George Washington University at Washington, D. C., in 1905. Returning to Iowa he was twice elected Prosecuting Attorney of Muscatine County, and it was in 1910 that he was elected Representative from the Second Congressional District of Iowa, a position to which he was reelected two years later. Congressman Pepper died at Clinton, Iowa, on December 22, 1913.

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES

Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites was born in Massachusetts in 1853. In 1876 he removed to Madison, Wisconsin, where he took up journalistic work. Ten years later he was chosen as Secretary and Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a position which he held with great distinction until his death on October 22, 1913.

For his services in the field of history Dr. Thwaites will be held in grateful remembrance, not only in Wisconsin, but in the entire upper Mississippi Valley. Perhaps no other one man has done so much, as author and editor, to build up the literature of western American history. Dr. Thwaites was the author of several well-known books dealing with various phases of Mississippi Valley history; while the volumes which he has edited are very numerous, including *The Jesuit Relations* (73 volumes), *Early Western Travels* (33 volumes), *The Original Journals of Lewis and Clark* (7 vol-

umes), *The Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin* since 1888, and many others.

On two occasions Dr. Thwaites delivered addresses before the State Historical Society of Iowa: once in May, 1905, when he spoke on *The Significance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*; and again in March, 1907, at which time his subject was *The Romance of Mississippi Valley History*. He was always generous in his counsel and encouragement, and this Society often benefited by his hearty coöperation and good will. In his death the cause of history in the Middle West has suffered a great loss.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACOB VAN DER ZEE, Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa, and Instructor in Political Science in the State University of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1913, p. 142.)

CLIFFORD POWELL, Attorney at Council Bluffs, Iowa. Born at Elliott, Iowa, on December 14, 1887. Graduated from the College of Liberal Arts of the State University of Iowa in 1910, and from the College of Law in 1913. Received the degree of M. A. in 1912 from the State University of Iowa. Author of *The Contributions of Albert Miller Lea to the Literature of Iowa History*, and *History of the Codes of Iowa Law*.

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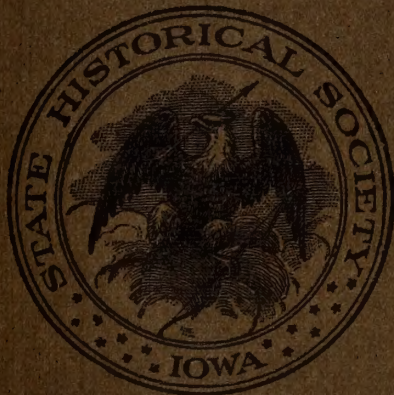
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FORTS IN THE IOWA COUNTRY

Of the territory now comprised within the borders of the State of Iowa, and indeed of the whole trans-Mississippi region, most of the early history may well be summarized in the statement: "it is a history of governments."¹ But documentary materials unearthed in archives at home and abroad, though largely illustrative of French and Spanish official life in this western country, reveal not a little knowledge of that other phase of history: human adventure and human endeavor. Thus, for example, one may read the accounts of early discoveries and explorations, of the activities of Jesuit missionaries, of traders in furs and minerals, and of Indian tribes with which European invaders came into business and social relations. And although the story of those early years is oftentimes not easily ascertainable because the records are scattered or fragmentary, on the whole a satisfactory picture of the times may be obtained.

TRADING POSTS

Long before the glamor of American frontier romance began to center in Indian treaties and land cessions, in the advance of the pioneers and their occupation of virgin prairies and primeval forests, and in the establishment of government forts for preserving peace among hostile Indian tribes and protecting settlers from pillage and massacre, French traders and explorers dreamed of a chain of well-garrisoned forts along the St. Lawrence River to the

¹ See an article on *Iowa History from 1699 to 1821* by Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XVI, p. 29; and *Documentary Material Relating to the History of Iowa*, in three volumes, edited by the same author.

Ohio and thence down to the Gulf of Mexico. As is well known, they realized part of their dream: they were only scheming to retain the trade monopoly in the furs and minerals of the West, and heartily desired to check the encroachments of their aggressive neighbors and enemies, both British and Spanish.

In the Mississippi Valley signs of French enterprise began to appear at an early date along the river banks — centers of industry and later, sometimes, of Jesuit missionary zeal. Their crude stockades were designated “forts”, but these forts, consisting merely of traders’ huts surrounded perhaps with high fences of pickets or split logs, were points of commercial vantage rather than military strongholds.² Here the simple-minded savages bartered away products of the trap and chase for the civilized white man’s products of factory, gun-shop, and distillery, the gaudier the goods and the stronger the spirits the more they attracted the Indians.

That the Iowa country, teeming with buffalo, elk, and deer, and wild animals of river and forest, furnished certain Indian tribes a comfortable livelihood there is no dearth of evidence to prove: the Iowa wilderness came to be included within the scope of French trading operations soon after French traders and missionaries reached the Great River. Although very little was known of the upper trans-Mississippi country before 1700 except from reports

² Parkman’s *A Half Century of Conflict* (Little, Brown & Co., 1892), Vol. II, pp. 61–77.

For this article on forts the writer has not undertaken to delve in the field of the antiquarian in order to present a theory about the vestiges of mounds to be found in various parts of the State. Many writers declare their belief that a race of people antedating the Indians constructed these embankments for purposes of defence, thereby evincing a remarkable knowledge of engineering and military science. The reader is referred to Newhall’s *Sketches of Iowa*, pp. 230–239; and Dr. Duren J. H. Ward’s article in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. I, p. 56. Nor does the writer pretend to give an

of the Indians,³ a considerable array of arguments has been adduced to show that about the year 1690 Nicholas Perrot set up a trading post or "fort" on the western bank of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Wisconsin River in the region of the lead mines which he then operated for several years on both sides of the river. The weight of evidence, however, points to some locality on the Illinois side.⁴

Frenchmen like Du Luth and other bush-rangers had ventured as far north as Lake Pepin and the Blue Earth River in southern Minnesota, and there Le Seuer later established posts among the Sioux, who with the Ioways also overran what is now northern Iowa. French enterprises and French posts in this region almost came to an end when French officials came to blows with the Fox Indians who dwelt upon the banks of the Fox River, then a part of the chief trade-route to the upper Mississippi. These Foxes not only cut off traffic in furs but for many years after 1712 "embroiled the security of the Upper Country." At war with all the tribes and hounded and defeated by the French, the Foxes at last found sympathy among their Sac neighbors and then the allies fled into the Iowa wilderness: even there they were visited and attacked by their French and Indian pursuers.⁵ But the Sacs and Foxes were not destroyed: they became more insolent than ever, killed stray French *voyageurs*, and compelled the abandonment in 1737 of Fort Beauharnois among the Sioux.

account of all the temporary stockades that may have been erected in the State at times when rumors of hostile Indians inspired the pioneers with fear.

³ Parkman's *A Half Century of Conflict*, Vol. II, p. 8.

⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, pp. 307-313, 323-330; and an article on *Early Forts on the Upper Mississippi*, by Dan E. Clark, in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. IV, pp. 95, 96.

⁵ For these facts the writer is indebted to Thwaites's preface to the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. xiii, xv. The report of the French expedition against the Sacs and Foxes may be found on pages 245-261 below.

In 1738 the Governor-General of Canada sent Pierre Paul, Sieur Marin, "to detach them from the sioux and restrain them from injuring the Illinois", and otherwise check the recalcitrants. There is a well-authenticated tradition that Marin built and maintained a fort until 1740 below the mouth of the Wisconsin River, at the head of Magill's Slough, on the Iowa bank of the Mississippi: early French settlers in the West spoke of it as Marin's Fort. This tradition lacks official confirmation, but that Marin must have been in the Iowa country is clear from the fact that the Sioux called upon him "at the River of the Swan on the Mississippi" (Wapsipinicon River). Fort Beauharnois in southeastern Minnesota was also re-occupied by the French under Marin only to be abandoned in 1756 so that the troops might aid in the gigantic death-struggle waged between their country and England in Europe and America. Thus practically foiled in their exploitation of the Iowa country, one year later the French could report no fort or trading post in this region, although their trade with the Sioux, Saes, Foxes, and Ioways had not yet entirely ceased.⁶

In 1762, as a result of England's death-grip, France ceded the Province of Louisiana west of the Mississippi to Spain, and later surrendered to the English not only Canada but also all claim to the country east of the Mississippi. Soon Englishmen got the lion's share of the Indian trade in at least the northern part of the trans-Mississippi region: English presents at the proper time won the goodwill and patronage of the natives.⁷

⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 178, 184. For Fort Marin see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 286; and *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1907, pp. 178, 179, and the map. Miss Louise Kellogg believes that Marin had several posts in this region, the chief one being located at the mouth of the Rock River. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 221.

⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. I, p. 32; and Vol. XVIII, p. 249.

Among the Indians who were accustomed to go to St. Louis to receive presents, the Spanish in the years 1769 and 1777 included the "Ayooua" or "Hayuas", a tribe "composed of two hundred and fifty warriors", dwelling "on the shores of the Muen [Des Moines] River." The Spaniards complained that though the Ioways, and the Sioux also, were engaged as hunters, "no benefit to [our] trade results therefrom, for the reason that the fur-trade is carried on continually with the traders who are entering that river from the English district". The Fox tribe of about three hundred and fifty warriors and the Sacs of four hundred warriors were declared trustworthy, despite the liberal presents of the English.⁸

In 1779, during the period of Spain's ownership of the Iowa country, the Governor of Upper Louisiana, then domiciled at St. Louis, informed his superior, Bernardo de Galvez of New Orleans, that Fort San Carlos at the mouth of the Missouri River had outlived its usefulness and that "it would be advisable to establish another fort at the entrance of the Mua [Des Moines] river". De Galvez answered that the crown could not spare a garrison of two hundred men for the purpose, but that he would lay the proposition "before His Majesty so that he may determine what may be his royal pleasure." And he added: "I charge Your Grace meanwhile to endeavor to prevent the English from entering said rivers, and to see to it that they do not entice our Indians, this being a matter that is so straitly charged in the instructions carried by Your Grace."⁹

The governor at St. Louis received instructions in 1781 "to keep Mounsieur Boucher de Mombrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Mississippi among the Sac

⁸ The principal village of Ioways stood near the present town of Iowaville in the northwestern corner of Van Buren County. See the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 300, 306, 363, 364, 365.

⁹ Houck's *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 166.

tribe forty leagues from that village, . . . in order to observe the movements of the enemy and to win the affection of the tribes". The place referred to here was no doubt the Sac village just above the mouth of the Des Moines River near the present town of Montrose. That de Monbruen served his Spanish masters with "valor, zeal, and experience" for several years at this post¹⁰ may be gathered from a complaint of the English in 1783: "There is a Mr. Moumbourne Bouché, a Canadian in the Mississippi with a Gang of Moroders, whom annoy the Traders very much, by exacting Goods &c. He is Commissioned by the Spaniards".¹¹

By the treaty which concluded the successful revolution of the thirteen British colonies no terms prohibited English Canadian subjects from trading with Indian tribes east of the Mississippi in territory ceded by England to the new American government. Indeed, English traders not only did a thriving business on American soil but also poached on Spanish preserves. Some time before 1792 the Spanish Governor-General asserted that the only way to keep the English out of Upper Louisiana was to construct "two strong posts on the Mouis and San Pedro Rivers." These proposed forts on the Des Moines and the St. Peter's (Minnesota) were aimed at the Mackinac Company which operated in the region now embraced in Wisconsin, northern Illinois, Iowa, and Minnesota.¹² The Spanish government, however, appears to have done nothing—the expense was too great.

In his military report to Don Luis de las Casas in 1794,

¹⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 419, 422.

¹¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 66.

¹² Houck in the *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 332, states his belief that the rivers named were the Des Moines and the Iowa, but Thwaites in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 441, believes "San Pedro" means St. Peter. See also his note on p. 439.

Baron de Carondelet laid great stress on the fact that the English were usurping the Indian trade and were "daily introducing themselves in greater numbers" upon the Missouri and among neighboring nations. He therefore urged the following plan: "A fort garrisoned by fifty men on the St. Pierre [San Pedro] River, which is one hundred and twenty leagues from St. Louis, and another fort on the Des Moines River, forty leagues from the said St. Louis, could entirely cut off all communication of the English with the savage nations of the west bank of the Mississippi, and of the Missouri—a trade so rich that notwithstanding the enormous distance of five hundred and more leagues of wilderness to cross with their merchandise and the furs which they receive in exchange, the London companies which engage in it do not fail to reap profits of a hundred per cent."

Carondelet felt certain that if these two forts were erected, "many settlers would flock to their vicinities, both from our settlements and from Canada, and the banks of the Ohio. Within a few years they would have several posts in those districts more populous than that of St. Louis at present, and could serve to protect the part of Louisiana higher up on the Missouri from the usurpation of the English and Americans." If detachments from the battalion at New Madrid should be stationed on the rivers mentioned, "they would suffice to cause the dominion of Spain to be respected throughout Upper Louisiana."¹³ But despite this enthusiastic recommendation nothing seems to have been done to impress English traders with the strength of Spain's rights: Spain meekly retransferred Louisiana to France in 1800, and then in 1803 Napoleon in despair sold the province to the Americans.

¹³ Robertson's *Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States*, Vol. I, pp. 335-337. See also the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 449, 452.

That English subjects had traded upon the Des Moines River for a quarter of a century is no longer open to question, but just when they set up trading posts has not yet been ascertained. In the year 1805 Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike led the first American expedition to explore the Upper Mississippi Valley. The Des Moines River, the largest tributary to which he came, he charted on his map with some twenty branches, and marked upon it the positions of two forts Crawford, Fort St. Louis, and Fort Gelaspy. Since it appears from Pike's *Journal* that he did not explore the river at all, one wonders how he was enabled to sketch the river and locate the sites of four forts. The names suggest an English origin, if anything, as the American government had not yet planted forts in this region. Lewis and Clark had reported that the "Ayouwais" Indians dwelt upon the Des Moines River and traded with "Mr. Crawford, and other merchants from Michilimackinac". This would suggest that the four forts were trading posts of the Mackinac Company.¹⁴

THE DES MOINES FACTORY AND FORT MADISON

Beginning with the year 1804 the United States government turned its attention to the western country. William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory and of the

¹⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 711, 712, 714. The Yankton Sioux also traded with Crawford on the Des Moines River. In Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, p. 13, the editor offers no explanation of the origin of these forts but refers knowingly to "old Forts Crawford and St. Louis".

Bradbury's *Travels in the Interior of America in 1809, 1810, and 1811*, (Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. V), contains a map which shows three forts on the Des Moines River situated below the mouth of the Raccoon River. In the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 88, a writer states that Fort Crawford stood a short distance below Portland; Fort Gelaspy was nearly opposite Iowaville; and "Fort St. Thomas" was at or near Chillicothe.

In response to the writer's letter of inquiry, the late Dr. Thwaites wrote: "I know nothing of these forts beyond the fact that they are upon the map, and that Pike no doubt got his information with regard to them at Prairie du

District of Louisiana and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and later President of the nation, effected a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes whose tepee villages, seven in number, then overlooked the Mississippi River in the Iowa-Illinois country. In sending this treaty to the Senate for ratification President Jefferson favored it as "the means of retaining exclusive commerce with the Indians west of the Mississippi River — a right indispensable to the policy of governing those Indians by commerce rather than by arms."

The government promised to establish a trading house or factory among the Indians "in order to put a stop to the abuses and impositions practised upon them by private traders." The Indians also consented to let the government set up a military post at or near the mouth of the Wisconsin River: since the land on the lower side of the river might not be suitable for that purpose, the tribes agreed that a fort might be built, either on the upper side of the "Ouisconsin", or on the right bank of the Mississippi in the Iowa country, as the one or the other might be found most convenient.¹⁵

Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, as has been noted, commanded the first American army expedition up the Mississippi

Chien. There can be no doubt they were traders' blockhouses. There were two British traders who made headquarters at Prairie du Chien, named Crawford, Redford and Lewis. You will find a little information regarding them in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX. 'Gelaspy' is probably the phonetic spelling of a trader named 'Gillespie', also noted in *Ibid.*, page 337. 'St. Louis' may have been named for the Christian name of Lewis Crawford, as was common practice among French engagées. I should be inclined to think that the Crawfords and George Gillespie were operating on the Des Moines, possibly in partnership, and that the forts were named for the partners. Bradbury's map is evidently derived from Pike's, or from information obtained from him."

Two traders were licensed in 1825 to carry on business with the Yankton Sioux at "Fort Confederation, on the Second Forks of the Des Moines River". See *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 19th Congress, No. 58, pp. 5, 6.

¹⁵ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 74-76.

River in the summer of 1805. According to instructions he selected three sites suitable for military establishments, and described a place which corresponds to the site of the city of Burlington. "Looking across the Mississippi from this eminence," read Pike's words, "you have an elegant view on an immense prairie, as far as the eye can extend, now and then interrupted by clumps of trees; and to crown all, immediately under the hill is a limestone spring, sufficient for the consumption of a regiment." He also selected a spot at or near McGregor, Clayton County, and reported that if "the annoyance of any European power who might be induced to attack it with cannon" were contemplated, the place was infinitely better than a location on the Wisconsin River just opposite.¹⁶

Lieutenant Pike at this time also considered situations for the government trading post to be erected in the Sac and Fox country. Not until 1808, however, did the government take active steps to carry out the treaty provisions of 1804. At that time the United States maintained Fort Bellefontaine four miles above the junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi and Fort Dearborn on the site of Chicago, as well as some posts in the southern part of the Indiana-Illinois region. In the autumn of this year Lieutenant Alpha Kingsley received orders at Fort Bellefontaine to proceed up the Mississippi and fix on a suitable site for a factory and fort near the Des Moines River. On the 22nd of November, he wrote to the Secretary of War from his garrison "at Belle Vue, near River Le Moine," that he had nearly finished the construction of the factory, storehouses, and barracks. He expressed his belief that no place would prove more advantageous for the Indian trade, and

¹⁶ Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, pp. 223, 224. The writers who base their statements on Charles Negus's article in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, p. 882, holding that the site of Fort Madison was chosen at this time, are quite certainly mistaken.

said he hoped that by spring he would have the fort "so far advanced that it will bid defiance to the evil-minded savage, and at the same time insure the respect and friendship of the better disposed."

One is not surprised to find many of the Sacs and Foxes in a state of alarm and consternation while these military measures were under way. One of the Sac braves, Black Hawk, always under British influence, later told how the American soldiers went about their work with weapons in hand, "acting as if they were in an enemy's country". To allay their fears the Indians were told that these were only houses for a trader who was coming there to live and sell goods very cheaply, and that the soldiers would remain "to keep him company".¹⁷ Despite remonstrances by the natives, the work went on: three blockhouses, two factory buildings, officers' quarters, two barracks, a guard house, and a surgeon's office were constructed within a high palisaded stockade overlooking the river and named Fort Madison in honor of the President, though also frequently referred to as Fort Belle Vue, and sometimes called the Le Moine or Des Moines factory.¹⁸

The construction of a fort at this point was certainly not a violation either of the letter or of the spirit of the treaty of 1804, as so many writers have asserted, for the Indians had consented to the stipulation: "at or near the mouth of the Ouisconsin, . . . or on the right bank of the Mississippi". The government merely exercised its right

¹⁷ See any edition of the autobiography of Black Hawk. This brave, as is well known, became the leader of hundreds of disaffected Indians who viewed American encroachments with alarm, and in 1832 was only subdued as the result of a brief campaign called "The Black Hawk War".

¹⁸ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 769, 770, 772, 773, 784, 789; and Vol. II, pp. 34, 36, 39, 58.

In a footnote on page 51, Vol. V, of Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, appears the unwarranted statement that in 1808 a treaty was made with the Indians, "by which the first American post west of the Mississippi was erected

of choice. One faction of the Sacs and Foxes exclaimed loudly against the government's act of hostility, but Black Hawk and English traders from Mackinac (whose business was threatened) were no doubt the principal instigators of discontent. It was the recognized American policy to exclude British subjects from trade with the Indians, and hence also agents of the Mackinac Company.¹⁹ British traders then overran the Upper Mississippi country, sold at high prices goods of the best quality, manufactured expressly for the Indians, and poisoned the minds of their patrons against the American government's factors, who generally kept inferior goods—so inferior it is said that the Indians found in them a source of laughter!²⁰

Fort Madison and its factory received no glad welcome from the natives, and from the first was destined to pass no easy time. Considerable alarm reigned in the garrison during the winter of 1808–1809, and in the following spring a plot to kill the soldiers and destroy the fort was frus-

—Fort Madison which served in a measure to restrain their ravages." Fort Bellefontaine was built some years before and there is no record of a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes in the year 1808. See also Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXVI, p. 117; and Thwaites's *Original Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Vol. V, p. 392, where Walter B. Douglas declares that from 1809 to 1815 Bellefontaine was the headquarters of the department of Louisiana, including forts Madison, Massac, Osage, and Vincennes.

In *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 247, there is an item of \$332.02 spent on the fort. The President of the United States was authorized by law to establish trading-houses at such posts and places on the frontiers or in the Indian country, on either or both sides of the Mississippi River, as he should judge most convenient for the purpose of carrying on a liberal trade with the Indians.—*United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, p. 402.

¹⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 403, and footnotes on pp. 383, 386.

²⁰ See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, p. 519. In a personal narrative the sutler of the Fort Madison troops renders an interesting account of the fort and the Indians.

In his *Pilgrimages*, Vol. II, p. 150, Beltrami remarks that the object of the government was "not speculation, but by its example, to fix reasonable prices among the traders". The Indians appear never to have become aware of this.

trated. Later, when Black Hawk's Sacs and the warlike Winnebagoes absented themselves to wreak their vengeance elsewhere, the factory carried on a thriving business. Of the ten government trading houses which reported for the years 1807-1811 Fort Madison's gains were estimated at \$10,000, recovered on latter's furs and on lead which the Indians were said to dig and smelt, "succeeding remarkably well".²¹

In January, 1812, the government factor wrote of Winnebago robbery and murder, and added: "Every hour I look for a war party, and God only knows when it will end. I hope you will cause immediate relief by increasing our number of men at this post".²² The Indians, principally Winnebagoes who were for many years firebrands upon the American frontier, led by the ubiquitous Sac brave, Black Hawk, attacked and besieged Fort Madison during the later months of 1812. War between England and the United States had already broken out, and British subjects in the Mississippi Valley availed themselves of every opportunity to fan the flame of Indian discord and hostility. The British band of Sacs and Foxes went around arrayed in British uniforms and armed with British powder and balls. It was difficult to defend this lone stronghold in the Iowa country: according to a contemporaneous account, "as from an eminence their parade ground could be swept by small arms, and it is almost surrounded by chasms to within ten or twelve steps of the pickets and block-houses, from whence the Indians threw upwards of 500 pieces of

²¹ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 784, 789; and *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 520-524.

Chittenden seems never to have heard of Fort Madison for he asserts in his *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, pp. 628, 948, that Fort Osage, or Fort Clark, as it was called, (near Sibley, Missouri), was "the site of the only government factory for the Indian trade west of the Mississippi River."

²² *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 805, 806, 807, 809.

burning timber on the roofs of the houses; and when the attack commenced there was no spot about the fort that did not emit a continued sheet of fire from guns, fiery arrows and brands, and did not afford the brave fellows within an opportunity of doing much execution, except now and then knocking over such red skins as had the impudence to peep over the bank."

The garrison prevented the buildings from catching fire by using guns as syringes to keep the roofs wet. It was believed that the enemy was only waiting for a favorable wind to sweep flames from the factory and thus set fire to the whole establishment. On a calm evening, therefore, the commanding officer, it is said, "despatched a soldier with fire to the factory; and in less than three hours that building was consumed without danger to the garrison — during this day several Indians crept into an old stable and commenced shooting out of it, but a shot from the cannon by Lt. B. Vasques, soon made their yellow jackets fly."²³ In the destruction of the factory the government sustained a loss of \$5,500 including peltries, bear skins, and other articles.²⁴

²³ Niles's *The Weekly Register*, Vol. III, p. 142. Here the establishment is called Fort Belle-Vue.

A. F. Baronet Vasquez was born at St. Louis in 1783, the fifth of the twelve children of Benito Vasquez and Julia Papin. He accompanied Zebulon M. Pike as interpreter on the tour of discovery to the source of the Arkansas River in the years 1806 and 1807. In 1810 Pike came across his "Baroney" and wrote to the Secretary of War as follows: "He has been absent going on four years, and begs permission to return to St. Louis to see his Aged parents, The French language is his proper one; but he speaks Spanish very well, and is beginning with the English, but very imperfectly as yet."

Vasquez was transferred as ensign to the First Infantry, October 31, 1810; commissioned as second lieutenant, March 4, 1811; promoted to a first lieutenant, July 30, 1813; and resigned October 1, 1814.—Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, p. lxiv, and Vol. II, p. 364.

²⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 59.

The information presented in Gue's *History of Iowa*, Vol. I, p. 151, can not be authenticated — in fact it is palpably erroneous. This applies equally to Fulton's *The Red Men of Iowa*, p. 76.

Existence at the fort became more and more precarious as the year 1813 wore on: the garrison, never more than one hundred men, spent night and day in ceaseless watching, and the Indians, taking advantage of their superior position and numbers, grew more and more insolent and bold. The only alternative to starvation was escape. This was effected by digging a short trench from the fort to the Mississippi River, creeping out on hands and knees to the water's edge, and after setting fire to the fort embarking safely in some boats, to the amazement of the unsuspecting besiegers.²⁵

Thus ended the first and only factory-fort establishment in the Iowa country.²⁶ One writer did not hesitate to say that the facts "attest most fully the positive inefficiency of the system in conciliating the Indians; for at Fort Wayne, Chicago, and Fort Madison, previous to the war, public trade was in full operation, and flourishing, I believe, beyond anything we have seen in these latter days; and yet, so far from 'reclaiming them from savage habits,' they did not in a single instance during the whole contest avert the dreadful effects of an irruption into our defenceless frontier; nor did they ever disarm the savage of one particle of his natural ferocity."²⁷ For upwards of twenty years the lone ruins of several tall chimneys stood sentinel-like upon the river bank — almost the sole evidence of a past civiliza-

²⁵ For a full account of Fort Madison history see the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 97-110; and for a picture of the old fort see Vol. IV, p. 227. The Morrison Manufacturing Company of Fort Madison now occupies the site.

²⁶ Indian trade seems to have continued until April 1, 1815, at the "Des Moines trading-house", but it is doubtful whether this establishment could have stood without a fort in the hostile Indian country of Iowa. It was probably south of the first establishment and thus nearer St. Louis. In the year 1816 Prairie du Chien became a government station for the fur trade. See *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 34, 36, 39, 58, 60, 328.

²⁷ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 64, 331.

tion in the Iowa country and the only objects of attraction to occasional passersby upon the Mississippi River highway.²⁸

FORT DES MOINES (NO. 1)

For a period of fifteen years following the War of 1812 the United States government more than redoubled its activity in establishing its power in the upper Mississippi region. Fort-building became a settled government policy. Thus in 1816 Fort Edwards arose in Illinois a few miles below the ruins of Fort Madison; Fort Armstrong on Rock Island, a favorite Indian resort, in 1816; Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien, also in 1816; Fort Atkinson on Council Bluff on the Nebraska side of the Missouri in 1819; Camp Cold Water or Fort St. Anthony on the St. Peter's or Minnesota River in 1820 (named Fort Snelling in 1824); and Fort Winnebago at the portage between the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers. Fort Bellefontaine near St. Louis was superseded by the construction of Jefferson Barracks in 1827; and in the same year Fort Leavenworth appeared farther west on the frontier of the Indian country, replacing Forts Osage and Atkinson. Such evidences of military power struck terror into savage breasts, and not only served to keep foreign subjects out of American territory for the Indian trade, but served also "to invite wild and profitless adventures into the Indian country, the usual consequences of which are personal collisions with the

²⁸ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. XII, p. 237; *Minnesota Historical Society Collections*, Vol. II, p. 75; *Journal of Stephen Watts Kearny in Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, p. 126; and Beltrami's *Pilgrimages*, Vol. II, p. 150. See also the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, p. 368, where Kearny's *Journal* of the expedition across Iowa in 1820 is reprinted.

In 1908 at the centennial celebration of the founding of Fort Madison, a memorial chimney was dedicated, having been erected by the Jean Espy chapter of the Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution.—*The Register and Leader* (Des Moines), December 3, 1911. See also the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, p. 551.

natives, and the government is then put to the expense of a military expedition to vindicate the rights of these straggling traders.”²⁹

The Iowa country remained a hunting ground for the Sac and Fox and the Ioway Indians, and also for their hereditary enemies the Sioux; and white settlers who stole across the river from Illinois to work the lead mines around Dubuque were studiously driven out by troops from the forts in accordance with treaty stipulations. In 1832 the Black Hawk purchase marked the beginning of the end of Indian domination in the Iowa wilderness, and in June, 1833, emigrants from eastern States began to rush in vast numbers to occupy thousands of acres along the western bank of the Mississippi. Then followed in a short time an order of the War Department commanding Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen W. Kearny to proceed with three companies of dragoons from Fort Leavenworth to take up winter quarters near the mouth of the Des Moines River. One regiment of dragoons had been organized to replace the Mounted Rangers, and was designed to protect the western frontier settlements. The Black Hawk War of 1832 had cost the government about one million dollars. In order to restrain the Indian’s “savage ferocity and supersede the necessity of retaliation” in the future, the distribution of horse troops, a species of military force peculiarly dreaded by the Indians, was thus provided by Congress.³⁰

²⁹ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. IV, p. 1. For the details of a march from Camp Missouri (Fort Atkinson, Nebraska) to Camp Cold Water (Fort Snelling) in the summer of 1820, see the journal of Stephen Watts Kearny in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, or in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. X, pp. 343-371.

Fort Snelling, Minnesota, in the northern part of the Territory of Iowa does not properly fall within the scope of this article on forts in the Iowa country.

³⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. IV, p. 652. For the removal of intruders upon the Sac and Fox lands in Iowa, see *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23d Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, p. 943; Vol. IX, pp. 221, 223, 558, 603; and Vol. X, p. 2.

Kearny proceeded to the present site of Montrose, just north of an apple-orchard which an Indian trader, Louis Honore Tesson, had planted upon his Spanish land grant of 1799, and completed barracks, begun by Lieutenant Crossman, for over one hundred and fifty men, late in the year 1834. "Camp Des Moines, Michigan Territory" became the garrison's official address until changed to "Fort Des Moines". A distinguished Englishman visited the Fort and pronounced its site "chosen with singularly bad judgment; it is low, unhealthy, and quite unimportant in a military point of view". In his book of travels he gave an insight into the personnel of this Iowa military post, or cantonment, as it was also sometimes called. His account, no doubt eagerly read in England, deserves to be reprinted here:³¹

I landed . . . only for a few minutes, and had but just time to remark the pale and sickly countenances of such soldiers as were loitering about the beach; indeed, I was told by a young man who was sutler at this post, that when he had left it a few weeks before, there was only one officer on duty out of seven or eight, who were stationed there. The number of desertions from this post was said to be greater than from any other in the United States. The

³¹ The Hon. Charles Augustus Murray's *Travels in North America*, Vol. II, pp. 98, 99.

In the autumn of 1833 another Englishman, Charles Joseph Latrobe, tells of meeting some of America's "embryo dragoons": "Just in this moment, most unexpectedly and fortunately for us, a number of barges were seen emerging from the deep glen of the Ouisconsin, and turning up the Mississippi towards the Fort [Crawford]. They were found to contain a body of recruits for the frontier posts of St. Peter's and the Prairie [du Chien], and for a regiment of dragoons forming near St. Louis. They had made their way thus far from the Atlantic States, by way of Detroit, Lake Huron, Green Bay, Fox River, and over the portage into the Ouisconsin. The two barges containing the recruits bound to St. Louis were in command of a young officer, who promptly made us an offer to join company.

"The recruits for the service of the newly-raised regiment of dragoons organizing for the future service of the frontier, in place of the Rangers, our quondam swopping acquaintances of last autumn, were distinguished from the rag-tag-and-bob-tail herd drafted into the ranks of the regular army, by being

reason is probably this: the dragoons who are posted there and at Fort Leavenworth, were formed out of a corps, called during the last Indian war "The Rangers;" they have been recruited chiefly in the Eastern States, where young men of some property and enterprise were induced to join, by the flattering picture drawn of the service, and by the advantageous opportunity promised of seeing the "Far West." They were taught to expect an easy life in a country abounding with game, and that the only hardships to which they would be exposed, would be in the exciting novelty of a yearly tour or circuit made during the spring and summer, among the wild tribes on the Missouri, Arkansas, Platte, &c.; but on arriving at their respective stations, they found a very different state of things: they were obliged to build their own barracks, store-rooms, stables, &c.; to haul and cut wood, and to perform a hundred other menial or mechanical offices, so repugnant to the prejudices of an American. If we take into consideration the facilities of escape in a steam-boat, by which a deserter may place himself in a few days in the recesses of Canada, Texas, or the mines, and at the same time bear in mind the feebleness with which the American military laws and customs follow or punish deserters, we shall only wonder that the ranks can be kept as full as they are. The officers of the army know, feel, and regret this; but they dare not utter their sentiments, and wholesome discipline is made to give place to the pride and prejudice of the "sovereign people," from whose fickle breath all power and distinction must proceed.

Fort Des Moines was never intended as a permanent post but as a stopping-place on the road to the Indian country

for the most part picked, athletic young men of decent character and breeding. They were all Americans, whereas the ordinary recruits consist either of the scum of the population of the older States, or of the worthless German, English, or Irish emigrants."—*The Rambler in North America*, Vol. II, pp. 317, 318.

Of the Rangers who formed a nucleus for the Dragoons he wrote as follows: "Each appeared garbed as his fancy or finances dictated. Among them there was an amusing variety of character, and I have a suspicion that, intermingled with some very sober and worthy members of society, allured to enlist by a desire to see the world and to lead a holiday kind of life away from their farms for a twelve-month, there was a very large sprinkling of prodigal sons and neer-do-weels."—*The Rambler in North America*, Vol. I, p. 180.

See also the letter of a dragoon, James C. Parrott, in the *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VI, p. 180.

farther west. Indeed, only one thing of any importance was accomplished by the troops: Kearny obeyed orders from headquarters to march up the Des Moines River to reconnoitre with a view to the selection of a site for a new military post, then to visit the Sioux villages near the highlands on the Mississippi, whence he was to proceed westward returning to his fort along the right bank of the Des Moines River. Second Lieutenant Albert M. Lea participated in this one-thousand-one-hundred-mile summer campaign of 1835. He soon afterward compiled and published the first popular account of the "Iowa District", then a part of Wisconsin Territory. It is believed that this booklet brought the name "Iowa" into general use. Abandoning Fort Des Moines in June, 1837, the dragoons returned to their regimental quarters at Fort Leavenworth.³²

CAMP KEARNEY

Although Fort Leavenworth afforded good protection to the settlers of western Missouri, John Dougherty, Indian agent at the Council Bluffs Agency at Bellevue, in 1834, and the citizens of Clay County, Missouri, in 1836, urged Congress to erect a line of military posts upon the Indian frontier. They wished to see well constructed forts, each accommodating one company of infantry and two companies of dragoons, at or near the Des Moines Rapids of the Mis-

³² A journal of this extensive expedition may be found in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. VII, pp. 364-378.

See Clifford Powell's article on Lea's contributions to Iowa history in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IX, pp. 3-32.

There is a detailed account of Fort Des Moines, No. 1, in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 351-363. The same article appeared in Porter's *Annals of Polk County, Iowa*, pp. 76-92.

An old settler of Lee County has told of Samuel Brierly and others who were engaged in the retail whiskey traffic. These men allowed the soldiers to indulge too freely, disturbances arose, and later orders were issued by Col. Kearny to destroy all intoxicating liquors found in possession of the citizens of Nashville near by.—*Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. V, p. 888.

issippi; at the Raccoon Forks of the Des Moines River; at a point where the northern boundary of the State of Missouri touches the Missouri River; at Fort Leavenworth; and at other points to the south. These citizens believed that the dragoons should be employed in patrolling the roads between such permanent posts instead of performing long and disastrous journeys to the Rocky Mountains; that they should open roads, build bridges, and establish ferries; and that the government should establish a regular mail service between all the posts. Congress, however, was not convinced of the necessity of such precaution against the Indians.³³

While eastern Iowa consisted of the two counties of Dubuque and Demoine, the united tribes of Pottawattamie, Chippewa, and Ottawa Indians were given hunting-grounds in what is now southwestern Iowa. Here they arrived in the summer of the year 1837,³⁴ about two thousand in number. Occasional hunting parties of warlike Sioux came down from the north and committed offences which threw the newcomers into confusion. To quiet their apprehensions Colonel Kearny made an expedition from Fort Leavenworth sometime in the spring of 1838 and left a body of dragoons to preserve the peace. Upon the heights above Indian Creek, near a spring, they erected a block-house, and set up barracks and tents on ground close by.

These troops did not stay long, for on May 31st Father de Smet, the famous Jesuit missionary, recorded his arrival among the Pottawattamies: their chief gave him and his companions possession of three cabins and Colonel Kearny donated the log fort. Father de Smet added: "On the day

³³ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 24th Congress, Vol. II, No. 22.

³⁴ The date has been variously given, as can be discovered in the writer's article on the early history of western Iowa in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 341, 342.

of Corpus Christi I put up a cross on the roof, and while I climbed the ladder to put it in place, and my flag floated from a hole in my breeches, Father Felix beheld the devil clap his tail between his legs and take flight over the big hills."

On his famous expedition to map out the upper Mississippi Valley, Nicollet stopped at the block-house in the month of May, 1839. He later acknowledged the services received from the "Revs. P. J. Smedt and Felix Werreydt, missionaries among the Pottawatomies at Camp Kearney, near Council Bluffs, on the Missouri." The presence of troops became necessary here at different times during the years 1839 and 1840, though they seem not to have been permanently located, for in September, 1840, when a small party of Sioux had killed and scalped a Pottawattamie, Kearny came with a force of dragoons and "established a degree of confidence" among the Pottawattamies who were afraid of a general descent upon them by the Sioux.³⁵

MILITARY ROADS

It seems to have been the practice of Congress whenever new Territories were organized to appropriate sums of money for what were called "Military Roads". The gov-

³⁵ A writer in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series) appears to have been unable to obtain an official statement from the War Department with regard to this block-house, the first building in what later became Council Bluffs; but Vol. II, p. 549, contains a short account by an old settler and also an illustration. Mr. Bloomer, the writer, is inaccurate as to dates. See Chittenden and Richardson's *Life, Letters, and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet, S. J., 1801-1873*, pp. 15, 158. For the place of Camp Kearney in western Iowa history the reader is referred to THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 346-355.

See also *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, No. 52, pp. 94, 98, 99, for Nicollet's map and report. This scientist made Camp Kearney one of the two principal "barometer stations" of the whole region and he thanked "the venerable missionaries, the Rev. Messrs De Smedt and Werreydt" for their observations. Pierre Jean de Smet and Felix Verreydt were Jesuit missionaries, frequently met with in western history. See *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, No. 1, p. 56; and 2nd Session, 26th Congress, No. 1, p. 321.

ernment undertook to open up such thoroughfares "professedly for military purposes, so that troops in case of war with the Indians or when needed for other purposes could be quickly moved from one portion of the Territory to another." In the year 1839 Congress appropriated \$20,000 for a road from Dubuque by way of the Territorial capital at Iowa City and county seats to such point on the northern boundary of the State of Missouri as might be best suited for its future extension by that State to the cities of Jefferson and St. Louis. The Secretary of War was also authorized to spend \$5,000 on the construction of a road from Burlington through the counties of Des Moines, Henry, and Van Buren towards the Indian Agency on the river Des Moines. Later Congress gave \$15,000 for constructing and keeping in repair bridges on these two roads, although thousands of dollars more were needed to complete the work in a satisfactory manner.³⁶

FORT ATKINSON

In the year 1825 the federal government arranged for the survey of a line from the mouth of the Upper Iowa River southwestward to the Cedar River and thence west, intending this as a barrier between those inveterate foes, the Sioux on the north and the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways on the south. In 1830 these Indians ceded to the United States strips of country twenty miles wide on both sides of the line of separation. Daniel Boone's son, Nathan, received the appointment to survey the new Indian cession. Two years later the Winnebagoes exchanged their lands south of the

³⁶ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. III, pp. 219, 221, 222, and the map on p. 183. See also *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 26th Congress, No. 598.

The State legislature of Iowa passed two resolutions asking Congress for the establishment of military roads: one from Iowa City via Fort Des Moines to the Missouri, and the other from Keokuk via Keosauqua to Council Bluffs.—*Laws of Iowa*, 1846–1847, p. 197; and 1848–1849, p. 196.

Wisconsin River for the eastern portion of this neutral ground,³⁷ but it was not until the year 1840 that all had removed to a site on Turkey River. To protect them from the incursions of their Sioux, Sac, and Fox neighbors and from adventuresome white settlers who were looking for good lands, and to prevent trespasses beyond the limits of their reservation, a company of infantry was ordered to leave Fort Crawford and camp in the Winnebago country, where they were to set up barracks. With ample accommodations for quartering one full regiment of troops and stabling several hundred horses, this military post in its highly romantic and picturesque position in what later became Winneshiek County was named Fort Atkinson. In the vicinity stood an Indian agency and an Indian school.

So constantly were the peaceable Winnebagoes alarmed by the threatening attitude of their neighbors and hence so eager were they to emigrate to a safer habitat that a company of dragoons arrived in 1841 to allay their fears. Captain Sumner and his company, with Captain Allen's company from Fort Des Moines (established at Raccoon Fork), were in the saddle for three months during the summer of 1845, ascending the St. Peter's River in the northern part of the Territory of Iowa, where they held many impressive councils or talks with half-breeds and other Indians, "besides seizing, for trial in the civil courts, several former offenders among the Sioux Indians, whose homes are within our limits." And many times detachments of these troops at Fort Atkinson were despatched to drive out squatters or remove intruders from Sac and Fox lands to the south. Furthermore the vigilance of Captain Sumner and his dragoons was said to be "an effectual check against the

³⁷ *Iowa Historical Lectures*, 1892, pp. 46, 51; *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, p. 249; and *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, p. 229.

smuggling of whiskey into this section of the Indian country by the whites."³⁸

The breaking out of war with Mexico necessitated the removal of the entire garrison in July, 1846. To replace it, Governor Clarke of Iowa secured authority from the Secretary of War to muster into service a company of volunteer foot and also one of volunteer cavalry. Hardly had they served one month when the commander of the western division of the United States Army ordered the mounted company to be dispensed with, to the great dissatisfaction of the General Assembly of the Territory of Iowa.³⁹

The Winnebagoes were described as "the most drunken, worthless, and degraded tribe". Owing to their habitual drunkenness and wanderings into the settled parts of Wisconsin and Iowa, and "their obstinate perseverance in establishing themselves in considerable numbers on the Mississippi River, out of their own country," the troops were kept busy bringing them back.⁴⁰ When Iowa was admitted into the Union in December, 1846, the Winnebagoes were the only Indians in the eastern half of the State, where they remained until their removal by the troops in the year 1848. Fort Atkinson continued to be occupied until February, 1849, and in 1853 the barracks, gun-houses, and powder-house were sold at public auction.⁴¹

When it became known that Fort Atkinson was to be abandoned, the General Assembly of the State of Iowa

³⁸ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, pp. 208, 217, 487. See also *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 258-268.

³⁹ *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 29th Congress, No. 34; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1846-1847, p. 194.

⁴⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. I, p. 482, where Governor John Chambers, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Iowa, renders an interesting report.

⁴¹ *History of Winneshiek and Allamakee Counties, Iowa*, p. 317.

Annals of Iowa (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 448, contains a detailed account and picture of Fort Atkinson. See also Newhall's *Glimpse of Iowa in 1846*, p. 37.

passed an act to establish at that place an agricultural school as a branch of the State University, provided Congress would donate the site and the buildings of the fort, besides two sections of land. To quote from an interesting memorial to Congress on this subject:

Agriculture being the leading interest in this state, we desire to elevate the condition of those who engage in it, to cause it to be regarded as a progressive science; and for this purpose to furnish our young men with the means of combining sound theory with useful observation and experiment.

To effect this object we contemplate the early establishment of our agricultural school upon the manual labor plan The location is one of the finest agricultural portions of the State, and will soon be surrounded by a dense population. The buildings are well adapted to the use for which we desire them, they would well accommodate one or two hundred students, together with the necessary dining and recitation rooms, and would be of comparatively little value for any other purpose. If sold they would bring but a trifle, and if left unoccupied and unprotected after the removal of the troops they will be subject to great depredations and will soon become to a great extent ruined.

This appeal of January, 1848, meeting with no response, was followed by others in 1851 and 1853, when Congress was asked to appropriate the grounds and buildings of the fort "to the occupancy and use of a normal manual labor and military institute" to be maintained at the State's expense.⁴² Fort Atkinson is to-day a small town of some six hundred inhabitants.

FORT CROGHAN

In April, 1842, a company of troops commanded by Captain J. H. K. Burgwin hastened by steamboat from Fort

The Iowa Daughters of the American Revolution made a commendable move when they directed their "Early Iowa Trails" committee to investigate the matter of preserving old Fort Atkinson. The Waucoma Chapter has made an effort to purchase it.—*Twelfth Annual Conference*, pp. 28, 43.

⁴² *Laws of Iowa*, 1847-1848, p. 99; 1850-1851, p. 242; and 1852-1853, p. 202.

Leavenworth up the Missouri River to the bluffs inhabited by the Pottawattamies. There was reason to fear the commencement of war between the Sioux and the united tribes. "Prompt and rigorous measures were adopted to prevent this outbreak, which, if it had commenced, would have involved consequences of the most hazardous character to the combatants; would probably have embroiled neighboring tribes, and could have been arrested by the Government only at great cost." As a result Camp Fenwick, or (as it was later called) Fort Croghan, was constructed as a temporary post on May 31, 1842, midway between the outlets of the Boyer and the Mosquito rivers, near the southwest corner of the present city of Council Bluffs. The united tribes were thus assured of protection, while the Sioux were warned to abstain from the threatened attack. The troops also helped to suppress illicit liquor traffic with the Indians and assisted the resident Indian agent in the enforcement of the intercourse laws.

On May 10, 1843, John James Audubon, the famous naturalist, chronicled his arrival at Fort Croghan, which, he wrote, was "named after an old friend of that name, with whom I hunted raccoons on his father's plantation in Kentucky, thirty-five years before. His father and mine were well acquainted, and fought together with the great Generals Washington and Lafayette in the Revolutionary War against 'Merry England.' The parade-ground here had been four feet under water in the late freshet." He also recorded the fact that the officers of the post were nearly destitute of provisions the year before, and sent off twenty dragoons and twenty Indians on a buffalo hunt; and that they killed, within eighty miles of the fort, fifty-one buffaloes, one hundred and four deer, and ten elks. Late in September, 1843, the troops took their departure: their presence had been necessary only in order that the Ameri-

can government might prove its good faith to the Indians in accordance with treaty provisions.⁴³

FORT SANFORD

While troops were stationed at Fort Des Moines near the present town of Montrose and plans were being formulated with regard to a fort on the Des Moines River near the Sac and Fox villages, considerable discussion took place in military circles as to the advisability of a military road to Fort Leavenworth. Some persons advocated a highway from Fort Des Moines via the Raccoon Forks as "a route of travel and communication between the several and various parts of our immense western frontier", at the expense of cutting down timber for a reasonable width, bridging streams, and causewaying marshy places. The Indians of course objected to such improvements as roads and forts because they would frighten away the remnant of game animals, their only means of sustenance in that region.⁴⁴

But the Sacs and Foxes were given no choice in the matter. Events so shaped themselves that the United States Indian Agent at the Sac and Fox Agency reported as follows in the year 1842:

I know of no point upon our Indian frontier where the permanent presence of a military force is more essentially requisite than at this. Within a period of less than two years it has been necessary

⁴³ The United States was then divided into nine military departments: Fort Croghan belonged to the third. See the chart in *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 1, pp. 210, 387; 1st Session, 28th Congress, No. 1, p. 395; and *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 28th Congress, Nicollet's map, p. 7.

This account is based on War Department records and on the memory of D. C. Bloomer of Council Bluffs.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 471.

Chittenden is, of course, mistaken when he declares in his *History of the American Fur Trade of the Far West*, p. 950, that Fort Croghan "stood a little above the present Union Pacific bridge in Omaha".

Life of John James Audubon, pp. 420, 421; and *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 383.

⁴⁴ *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VI, pp. 12-15, 53, 151.

three times to call for a detachment, whose march on each occasion has been attended with much expense and inconvenience, while requisition for another to attend the approaching payment has been sent. No obstructions, no means of prevention, here exist to the continual passage to and fro in the Indian country of the most lawless and desperate characters, who can at any time commit outrages against order, morality, and the laws, with perfect impunity; and many of whom, feeling themselves aggrieved by their recent expulsions from the Indian country, are the more ready to avenge themselves by acts of violence.

To prevent the lawless and destructive acts of persons who eagerly coveted farms in the Indian reservation, Governor Chambers called upon the government to keep a small force ready near the Indian agency: a slight intrusion might be enough "to irritate the Indians and induce them to act rashly." Early in the year 1842 Fort Atkinson troops expelled some squatters and returned to their post. In September their services were again enlisted in the Sac and Fox country, and so by permission of John Sanford of the American Fur Company a force of dragoons took up their abode in eight log cabins on the left bank of the Des Moines River and built two officers' huts and stables, some twenty miles west of Fairfield, the nearest post-office. Captain James Allen called this temporary post Fort Sanford: the War Department preferred the name "Sac and Fox Agency". Here in October, 1842, Governor John Chambers effected a treaty with the Indians. Of this event, so important in the history of the settlement of Iowa, there has been preserved an interesting contemporaneous newspaper account in which the editor took exception to the Governor's "most ridiculous and most reprehensible" insistence upon the presence of troops:

The treaty was conducted with great dignity and propriety, if we may except the introduction of dragoons to keep out citizens beyond hearing distance. Capt. Allen and Lt. Ruff, of the

Dragoons are talented and gentlemanly officers, and were present in obedience to orders—but Gov. Chambers certainly believes too much in show, or greatly mistakes the character of our citizens, if he deems all this flummery and metal-button authority necessary to the order, dignity or success of a treaty.⁴⁵

FORT DES MOINES (NO. 2)

Fort Des Moines at the Raccoon Forks was the immediate successor of Fort Sanford. The building of a military post on the Des Moines River had been contemplated (see above) as part of a larger plan to defend the western frontier stretching from Fort Snelling in the north to Forts Gibson and Towson in the south. In 1837 the Quartermaster General recommended that a position at the upper fork be permanently occupied. The probable expense was estimated at \$30,000 “for quarters for 400 men, and stables for, say, 100 dragoon horses, . . . to be constructed chiefly by the labor of the troops, of hewn logs, protected by block-houses, after the fashion of ordinary frontier works.” The Secretary of War in 1840 recommended the building of a fort at or near the forks of the

⁴⁵ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 289–293, contains an article on Fort “Sanford”. On pp. 164, 166, 167, the name is given as Fort “Sandford”. Maximilian in Thwaites’s *Early Western Travels*, Vol. XXII, pp. 235, 276, refers to Sanford and Sandford. Mr. Thwaites subjoins a footnote on Major John F. A. Sanford. Nicollet mentions Major John F. A. Sandford, a member of the American Fur Company of St. Louis, but the Major signed himself “Sanford”. See Chittenden’s *The History of the American Fur Trade in the Far West*, Vol. I, p. 368.

For the name “Sac and Fox Agency”, a post established October 3, 1842, see the chart in *Senate Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, p. 210. See also *House Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 2, p. 418; and *Annals of Iowa*, Vol. XII, pp. 94, 95–99.

Iowa Territorial Gazette and Advertiser (Burlington), October 15, 1842. This account of the treaty is reprinted in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. X, p. 263. See also the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. I, p. 400, where the writer states that the dragoons were present to overawe troublesome whites.

Des Moines.⁴⁶ Nothing came of the agitation until Captain Allen at Fort Sanford selected a point at the junction of the Raccoon and the Des Moines. The treaty with the Sacs and Foxes in October, 1842, permitted them to remain three years longer in their reservation, and the government determined to place troops in their country as a protection against "the ravenous appetites of lawless vagabonds".

Orders were accordingly issued from Jefferson Barracks in February, 1843, that Captain Allen with his company of dragoons, and also a company of infantry from Fort Crawford, should garrison the new post. Allen hastened to the place, and leaving a small detachment to guard supplies conveyed by steamboat from St. Louis, he returned for the remainder of his company, evacuating Fort Sanford in May, 1843. He called the post Fort Raccoon but the Secretary of War would not sanction his choice of a name and directed him to call it Fort Des Moines. The first roster contained the names of one hundred men.⁴⁷

Fort Des Moines became a considerable establishment, but without pickets or block-houses it never had the appearance of a fort. First a temporary wharf was built for steamboats and keelboats, then a public store-house, hospital, one story log-cabins capable of quartering ten men

⁴⁶ The site is probably in Humboldt County.—See *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. VII, pp. 782, 784, 905, 963; and *House Documents*, 2nd Session, 26th Congress, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 22.

⁴⁷ For his account of Fort Des Moines, No. 2, the writer is indebted to a very readable article in Porter's *Annals of Polk County, Iowa, and City of Des Moines*, pp. 93-114, and in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, pp. 161-178; its authority is vouched for as based on records of the War Department at Washington, D. C. For a plan of the fort see pp. 161, 324, 325.

On June 14, 1908, the Abigail Adams Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution dedicated and presented to the city of Des Moines a massive monument of carved granite commemorative of old Fort Des Moines.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 475.

See also an unauthenticated manuscript report on the propriety of abandoning Forts Armstrong and Des Moines in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VIII, p. 495.

each, stables and corrals for the horses, and officers' quarters. Gardens were also laid out. A post trader erected his store and dwelling not far from the flagstaff; three men were permitted to cultivate small areas in the vicinity as purveyors to the garrison; and a tailor and blacksmith completed the little colony in the Sac and Fox country. Within three or four miles dwelt the contractor who supplied the post with forage and beef, besides the Indian agent and several men with trading permits.

With the spring of 1844 came the advance guard of squatters who hoped to preëempt farms before the Indians departed. "The necessity of watching these vagabond speculators, and at the same time endeavoring to restrain the restless instincts of his more particular charges, the Sacs and Foxes, afforded the commandant of the fort sufficient employment for his meager force," for the presence of whites tempted "the Indians to depredations and trespasses, and when restrained from these acts to war upon their neighbors, the Sioux."

In the summer of 1844 Captain Allen took about fifty dragoons on an expedition into the northern part of the Territory of Iowa, kept an interesting journal, and rendered an excellent report to Colonel Kearny at St. Louis. One year later he joined Captain Sumner of Fort Atkinson in a march to the St. Peter's (Minnesota) River country.⁴⁸ Oftentimes he was called upon to fetch Indian trespassers back to the reservation. The following account is especially applicable in this connection:

As the time drew near for the termination of the treaty [October 12, 1845], the duties of the garrison increased. Hundreds of settlers were "squatting" along the boundaries ready to pounce upon

⁴⁸ For Captain Allen's expeditions see *House Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 168, (reprinted in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 73-108); and *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 1, p. 217.

the lands the moment they were abandoned by the Indians, and their frequent incursions over the line, which were usually accompanied by the shooting of one or more of the Indians, followed by acts of reprisal, required all the good judgment and discretion of the commandant to maintain peace. Nor was this the least difficult of his duties. It became evident, as the time drew nearer that so strong was the disinclination of the tribes to leave their country, that many of them would not go until removed by force. So trying was the situation, during the summer of 1845, that Capt. Allen and his dragoons were almost constantly in the field, being aided in this patrol of the district by Capt. Sumner's company from Fort Atkinson.

A visitor at Fort Des Moines witnessed the last payment of annuities to the Sacs and Foxes in Iowa: he asserted that, taking them as a tribe, he had "never beheld finer looking men anywhere — tall, erect, and graceful, they appear the very picture of 'nature's noblemen'." This gentleman also had the novel pleasure of seeing an Indian war-dance, but what he beheld after that deserves to be told in his own words:

Having formed a solid square they marched in front of one of the officer's quarters, when what was our surprise to observe that preparations were making to *treat* them. A soldier of the infantry we believe — took a large jug and went to the Sutler's Store and returned with it filled, the jug was then set before the Indians and they were *invited to drink*, and this was done in the presence of *several of the commissioned officers* of the Fort And it is a fact that the location of Fort Des Moines among the Sac and Fox Indians (under its present commander,) for the last two years, has corrupted them more and lowered them deeper in the scale of vice and degradation, than all their intercourse with the whites for the ten years previous. Captain Allen thinks nothing of *TREATING* the Indians to *LIQUOR*, and the night before the payment he sent a bottle of liquor to Pow-e-shiek with his compliments by his servant, (a man by the name of Wells,) and bottles of liquor to several of the head chiefs of the Foxes.

It is said by those living near the garrison that Captain A. and the Sutler had a particular object in view in making the Indians

drunk about the time of the payment. As to this we know not, but we do believe there has been and is great corruption *there*, and that if justice was done Capt. Allen would be dismissed the United States service and the Sutler never allowed again to enter the Indian country. Allen's course has no doubt been dishonorable and disgraceful, as well as unofficer-like. During one of the Councils several of the Indians were very much intoxicated, and a friend of ours asked the Captain where he supposed the Indians got so much liquor, and his reply was: "The bottoms were full of it." Now if he knew such to be the fact or even supposed so, it was his duty to have those bottoms cleared.

Since penning the above we have received a letter from a friend who was at Raccoon the same time we were, but remained some time after we left. In speaking of the Indians he says: "On Sunday and Monday, after you left, there hardly could be seen a sober Indian or squaw. Where they got their *rotgut* I cannot say; but such fighting, of both sexes, I never witnessed in my life. Captain Beach made the second order on Captain Allen, to clear the country of at least the whiskey peddlers, but he paid no attention to what Mr. Beach wished done."⁴⁹

However reluctant they were to leave, most of the Sacs and Foxes took up the march to their new lands in Kansas south of the Missouri.⁵⁰ But some two hundred kept out of the way, probably hoping to escape the vigilance of the troops, until the early months of 1846 when they were "rounded up" and given a military escort on the march

⁴⁹ This information is to be found in the *Davenport Gazette*, November 13, 1845, and is a reprint from the *Keosauqua Times*, the editor of which probably wrote the article.

⁵⁰ The subsequent history of these Indians, also called Meskwakies or Musquakies, has been well told by Dr. Duren J. H. Ward in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IV, pp. 179-219: "Arriving at the appointed place in Kansas, they found it unhealthful and ill-adapted for hunting and agriculture. In the dreary years and the great hardships of the transfer, their little ones and their aged and infirm died. It was a sad settling and their Indian hearts longed for Iowa, where, indeed, some of their friends had remained." They gradually worked their way back to Iowa and in 1857 purchased some land in Tama County where they have since acquired about five sections of land along the Iowa River.

southward. Thus soldiers and Indians left the country together, Fort Des Moines being evacuated on March 10, 1846, and the government buildings being sold soon afterward. The place, however, was destined to become within a short time the home of hundreds of pioneer families, the county seat of Polk County, and in 1857 the capital of the State of Iowa.

FORT DODGE

When it became known that the national government contemplated a line of military posts between the Missouri River and Oregon to protect the emigrants to the West, and when it appeared that sectional motives had influenced the selection of a route south of the Platte River, the General Assembly of Iowa reminded Congress that the western border of the State was entirely without fort or military post of any sort and was consequently exposed to the depredations of Omahas, Sioux, Otoes, Pawnees, and other Indians. Congress was therefore urged to make an impartial investigation of the advantages of the northern side of the Platte River where, it was believed, people would naturally travel on their way to Oregon and California because the distance would be shortened some three hundred miles and emigrants would be saved the trouble and danger of crossing two forks of the Kansas and the Platte rivers, and would have better timber and water for their accommodation along the route.⁵¹ Congress, however, gave no ear to this disinterested proposal.

At the extreme west end of the Neutral Ground a site for a military post, suggested by Kearny as early as 1835, was selected in 1850, because certain bands of Sioux Indians had interfered with the operations of government surveyors and had subjected the pioneers in that region to repeated

⁵¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1847-1848, p. 203.

robberies and depredations. On the east bank of the Des Moines River, a short distance below the mouth of Lizard Fork, a company of United States infantry from Fort Snelling, Minnesota, finished the erection of quarters which received the name Fort Clarke.

Very soon afterward "several of the most intelligent, respectable, and influential business men of the city of Dubuque" petitioned George W. Jones (to whom they were indebted for the fort) and Augustus C. Dodge, both United States Senators from Iowa, "to do your constituents a still greater favor by urging upon the proper department the importance" of constructing a military road from Dubuque to the fort, because all the stores, munitions, and supplies needed at the fort were unloaded from steamers at Keokuk and hauled overland by wagon up the Des Moines Valley for nearly three hundred miles. The city of Dubuque, on the other hand, was declared to be only one hundred and twenty miles straight east of Fort Clarke, and being accessible to Mississippi River steamboats was therefore situated more advantageously than Keokuk. The recommendation that Congress appropriate \$20,000 for a road from Dubuque to Fort Clarke found no favor either in 1851 or one year later, when the Senators from Iowa again brought up the matter. The memorials sent to Congress by the State legislature asking for military roads from Dubuque and Muscatine to Fort Clarke met the same fate.⁵²

⁵² During the summer of 1850 the first settlers of Marshall County got into difficulties with some Musquakie Indians and fearing for their lives built a fort on what is now called Burk's Hill. The stockade, Fort Robinson, sheltered twenty-four families for a few weeks until the Indians departed, cowed by the menaces of Fort Dodge.—*Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VIII, pp. 369-372.

Senate Executive Documents, 2nd Session, 31st Congress, No. 15; and 1st Session, 32nd Congress, No. 14. *Laws of Iowa*, 1850-1851, pp. 261, 265. In November, 1837, a plan of defence was recommended to include an establishment for 400 men at the Upper Forks of the Des Moines.—*Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, No. 65, p. 14.

In the year 1851 the Secretary of War ordered the name of the fort changed to Fort Dodge, in honor of Henry Dodge, Senator from Wisconsin, and his son Augustus C. Dodge, Senator from Iowa, both of whom had spent varied and useful careers upon the western frontier. The garrison was kept busy with the usual duties of a frontier post, but as the country settled up and the Sioux Indians became less troublesome, having ceded their lands in southern Minnesota, the need of a fort farther north caused the evacuation and sale of the Fort Dodge buildings in June, 1853, and the establishment of Fort Ridgley on the Minnesota River.⁵³ The flourishing city of Fort Dodge soon sprang up. Events, however, were soon to prove that Iowa's northwestern frontier had lost a ready means of protection.

In the year 1855 the State legislature informed Congress of the extreme need of a garrison at or near the mouth of the Big Sioux River in Iowa. After the purchase of the Indian lands around the mouth of this stream two hostile tribes partitioned the country, using it as hunting-grounds every fall, and later engaged in a war, "whereby said tract of country has become the theatre of several sanguinary and bloody battles, to the great discomfort and annoyance of the few settlers who have pioneered the way for settlement and civilization of that fertile and interesting part of our young and growing State, who are entitled to the protection of government."

FORTS IN NORTHWESTERN IOWA

At the same time the Iowa memorialists informed Congress that the Sioux, Omahas, Otoes, and other Indians owned and occupied a large area of country in the vicinity,

⁵³ *Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. VII, pp. 284, 285, 288-290; *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 357, and Vol. IV, pp. 534-538.

An old log cabin used in 1850 as the headquarters of the Quartermaster's Department of the troops then stationed at Fort Dodge has been preserved.

and that therefore the frontier settlements were in constant alarm lest marauding bands of Indians might come "to hunt, steal, and commit many other depredations to which their lawless and unrestrained passions and habits might lead them," and endanger property and human life by reason of "the intoxication, the malice, caprice or revenge of these unrestrained savages." Furthermore, a garrison at this point, it was represented, would be on the route to Fort Laramie and the trading posts on the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, and being on a large river it would be accessible to steamboats as a suitable and proper depot for supplies and ammunition for forts on the western frontier. The appeal as usual fell flat in Congress and it was probably owing to the absence of a government fort in northwestern Iowa that the Sioux Indians dared to massacre the first settlers near Spirit Lake in 1857.⁵⁴

Sioux Indians again took the war path in Minnesota during the summer of 1862; their plunderings, burnings, cruelty, and massacre of hundreds of settlers north of the Iowa boundary stamped them as the perpetrators of the worst Indian outrage in American history. Settlers in the recently organized counties of northwestern Iowa were filled with terror, deserted their homesteads, and fled in haste to places of safety. In the belief that a general Indian war was impending, the General Assembly of the State of Iowa called upon Congress to send troops not only to protect the exposed border but also to punish the savages. The national government could not, of course, cope

⁵⁴ *Laws of Iowa*, 1854-1855, p. 294.

In 1850 Congress authorized the survey and construction of a military road from Mendota (near Fort Snelling) to the mouth of the Big Sioux River in Iowa, a distance of about 275 miles, and appropriated \$5,000 for the purpose.—*Senate Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, No. 438. This road was expected to be completed in 1856.—Parker's *Iowa Handbook*, 1856, p. 130.

with such a problem when all available men and ammunition were needed for the war in the South.

Accordingly, as no time should be lost, five companies of volunteers, later called the Northern Iowa Brigade, were organized by the State to defend the settlements and thus quiet the fears and apprehensions of the settlers. About two hundred and fifty men, rank and file, were distributed among several towns situated between Chain Lakes in Emmet County and Sioux City, and soon block-houses and stockades were erected, chiefly at local expense, at Correctionville, Cherokee, Peterson, Estherville, and on the Minnesota border at Iowa Lake in the northeastern corner of Emmet County.⁵⁵

At Iowa Lake seven buildings of rough timber, one hundred and sixty feet in length, formed the west side of the enclosure; prairie sod was piled up on the north side, forming a wall eight feet high and five feet thick at the base, with portholes; stables consisting of two tiers of stalls separated by a passage-way were erected on the east side of the square, covered with poles, grass, and sod, with an outer

⁵⁵ A story of hostile Sioux Indians created a stampede among the pioneers of Bremer County in June, 1854, and caused the construction of Fort Barrick, or "Fort John", as it was called, for temporary shelter. A large boulder with a bronze tablet was recently unveiled and dedicated to mark the spot in Janesville where the stockade stood, half-finished, when fear subsided.

Mention should be made here of a Sioux attack on the settlers of Dakota Territory early in 1862 and subsequent excitement among the people of Sioux City. The scare left a monument in the shape of a half-finished fort at the corner of Third and Nebraska streets near the river. This was later sold by order of the city council.—*Annals of Iowa* (First Series), Vol. X, pp. 117, 118.

The inhabitants of Spirit Lake had already raised a stockade around their court-house.—*Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. I, p. 574.

An account of the Northern Iowa Brigade by W. H. Ingham may be found in the *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. V, pp. 481–512. The article includes sketches of the stockades at Correctionville, Iowa Lake, and Estherville. The Daughters of the American Revolution have recently erected a monument to mark the site of the fort in the last named city.

For the legislature's appeal to the Secretary of War see *Laws of Iowa*, 1862 (Extra Session), p. 51.

wall of sod; a fence of upright timbers, with a gate, on the south side, besides log bastions at the northwestern and southeastern corners, and a well, completed the stronghold.

The block-houses and officers' quarters of the stockade at Peterson were built of oak and ash timbers ten inches square, roofed with soft maple boards joined together and grooved along the sides so as "to convey off the water". Sawed oak timber and hewed timbers six inches thick enclosed three sides. The Cherokee block-house was constructed of timbers one foot square, covered with walnut shingles, and the stockade walls were made of two rows of split logs, faces brought together so as to break joints. Inside the enclosure was a seventeen-foot well walled with boulders. The establishment at Correctionville was similar, except that the buildings were covered with earth and the well was curbed with hackberry.

Estherville boasted of the most extensive "works": Fort Defiance, one hundred and thirty-two feet square, consisted on one side of barracks separated by a stockade of eleven foot planks from an office and commissary room, with shingle roofs and black walnut sidings, and portholes, and on the opposite side a barn. The other two sides were substantially stockaded, including also a guard-house.

These crude strongholds gave the people of Iowa's straggling northwestern settlements a feeling of security, and undoubtedly prevented the Indians from invading the State. The volunteer garrisons were disbanded in a short time, the last one, at Estherville, being relieved on December 31, 1863, by troops of United States cavalry. The Indians committed no more atrocities.

FORT DES MOINES (NO. 3)

Agitation for the location of a cavalry post at the State capital of Iowa began in the year 1894 and received the warm support of many leading citizens. John A. T. Hull, a

member of Congress from Iowa and chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House of Representatives, championed their cause during three sessions of Congress, achieving success in 1900. It was enacted that "upon the transfer and conveyance to the United States of a good and sufficient title to not less than 400 acres of land, without cost to the United States, situated at or near the city of Des Moines, . . . and on or near a railroad, and constituting an eligible and suitable site for an army post, and to be approved and accepted by the Secretary of War for that purpose, then and thereupon there shall be, and is hereby, established and located on said land a United States army post, of such character and capacity as the Secretary of War shall direct and approve."

The citizens subscribed \$40,000, bought a site near the city, and donated the land to the government. The Secretary of War found no objections to the plan — on the contrary he assigned as a reason for establishing the third Fort Des Moines "the policy of the Department for some years, as the Indians have ceased to be a disturbing element in the settlement of the Territories, and thus permitted the abandonment of the many small posts that until recently were scattered along the frontier, to concentrate the troops thus released near the large centers of population, where many railway lines converge and allow of their being rapidly transported to points of threatened disturbance." Des Moines with ten railroads, three of them trunk lines, in a healthful and very rich agricultural region "where troops can be maintained at a minimum cost", lay within easy striking distance of the great cities of the Middle West so that troops might be moved to them in a few hours and at small expense, while they could also be hurried "to any point on either the Mississippi or Missouri River to protect the great bridges across those streams."⁵⁶

⁵⁶ *Congressional Record*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1319, 1320.

Since the first quarters were built, more than one million dollars has been expended, until now "an entire village of brick has grown up and around the regimental flag, . . . designed to accommodate 1200 cavalrymen, with their horses and general equipment." Fort Des Moines was dedicated amid much pomp, ceremony, and festivity. The post consists of an administration building, hospital, chapel, officers' quarters, subalterns' quarters, barracks, stables, and a parade ground one thousand by two thousand feet in area.⁵⁷ In comparative luxury and in extent it offers a striking contrast to the primitive character of its predecessors of the pioneer period of Iowa history, and at the same time serves a far different purpose. Aside from a few disciplinary and public occasions and the recent expedition in defence of the Texas border against Mexican insurgents there has been little to disturb the monotony of camp life at Fort Des Moines.

JACOB VAN DER ZEE

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

⁵⁷ Brigham's *History of Des Moines and Polk County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 600-602. Mr. Brigham also furnished the information contained in the closing sentence of this article on forts.

THE DEFALCATION OF SUPERINTENDENT JAMES D. EADS

By an act of Congress approved on September 4, 1841, there was set apart for "each new state that shall hereafter be admitted into the Union, five hundred thousand acres of land." The funds derived from the sale of this immense area were to be applied, within the intent of the act, to the construction of "drainage systems, roads, railways, bridges, and canals."¹ This disposition of the public lands was made by virtue of what is known in governmental ethics as the right of primal ownership of the soil.

This doctrine was evidently ignored in an "ordinance" appended to the constitution for the proposed State of Iowa drafted in the fall of 1844. In this ordinance several propositions were made to Congress relative to a partial disposal of the public lands within Iowa, which propositions should be binding upon the people of the State, providing they received the consent of Congress. Among other things the ordinance proposed the setting apart by the United States of the sixteenth section of land or its equivalent in every township for school purposes, and that five per cent of the net proceeds of all sales of public lands lying within the proposed limits of Iowa should be granted to the State, the purpose for which such per centum was to be used not being stated.²

In an act of Congress approved on March 3, 1845, providing for the admission of Iowa and Florida, it was de-

¹ 5 *United States Statutes at Large* 453-455.

² *Journal of the Iowa Constitutional Convention*, 1844, p. 207.

clared that this ordinance was not to "be deemed or taken to have any effect or validity, or to be recognized as in any manner obligatory upon the Government of the United States."³

By an act supplemental to the above and of the same date Congress proposed a substitute for this ordinance and requested its acceptance or rejection by the Iowa legislature. This substitute approved the proposition of the rejected ordinance relative to setting apart the sixteenth section or its equivalent for the use and support of common schools. But it definitely directed "that five per cent of the net proceeds of sales of all public lands lying within the said State, which have been, or shall be sold by Congress, from and after the admission of said State, . . . shall be appropriated for making public roads and canals within the said State, as the legislature may direct." There was also the further proviso that the "foregoing propositions herein offered are on the condition that the legislature of the said State, . . . shall never interfere with the primary disposal of the soil within the same by the United States . . . and that no tax shall be imposed on lands the property of the United States."⁴ No action was taken at this time by the Iowa legislature upon this proposed substitute.

In the late spring of 1846 a constitutional convention met in Iowa City to draft a second constitution for submission to Congress. This constitution stipulated in section two of article ten that not only should the proceeds derived from the sale of public lands granted expressly by Congress for the support of common schools be devoted to that purpose, but also that the five hundred thousand acre grant of September 4, 1841, and "such per cent. as may be granted by

³ 5 *United States Statutes at Large* 742, 743.

⁴ 5 *United States Statutes at Large* 789, 790.

Congress on the sale of lands in this State, shall be and remain a perpetual fund, inviolably appropriated to the support of common schools throughout the State.”⁵ By “such per cent” was plainly meant the five per cent which Congress had previously directed should be used for the building of roads and canals. Congress, by an act approved on December 28, 1846, unconditionally accepted the proposed constitution, including this section relative to school lands.⁶ The inference was plain that Congress by such action had sanctioned the provision for the support of schools although it was directly at variance with the previous supplemental act of March 3, 1845.

Such at least was the view taken by the General Assembly of Iowa, which on February 25, 1847, two months after the admission of Iowa into the Union, passed an act which provided that it should be the duty of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction to receive the five per cent fund accruing to the State of Iowa from the sale of public lands within the limits of the State.⁷ Accordingly this official — Mr. Thomas H. Benton, Jr., — applied to the proper United States officer for the fund then due. The application was denied, the denial being based upon the claim that this fund could only be paid for the construction of roads and canals as directed by the supplemental act of March 3, 1845.⁸

This denial, however, did not cause the General Assembly of Iowa to assume an attitude different from that expressed in the State Constitution. Instead, it passed an act, approved on January 15, 1849, which, while accepting the

⁵ The Iowa State Constitution of 1846, Article X, Section 2; *Journal of the Iowa Constitutional Convention*, 1846, p. xv.

⁶ 9 *United States Statutes at Large* 117.

⁷ *Laws of Iowa, 1846-1847*, p. 163.

⁸ *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1850, p. 36.

Congressional proposals of March 3, 1845, did so with a reservation that the five per cent of the net proceeds of public land sales should be applied to the support of common schools and not to the building of roads and canals.⁹ Later, through the influence of the Iowa delegation in Congress, that body passed a declaratory act assenting to such an application of what had now become known as "the five per cent fund".¹⁰ Thus was laid the basis of the permanent support fund of the common schools of Iowa.

Provision for the receipt and disposal of the fund was later embodied in the *Code of 1851*. The fund was to be paid into the hands of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and by him "disposed of according to law". It was to be apportioned to the various organized counties by this official in much the same manner as it is at the present time. This was to be done early enough in the year that it might be transmitted to the school fund commissioners and by them apportioned to the respective districts annually upon the first day of March.¹¹

Owing to the rapid settlement of Iowa the sales of public lands increased at a rapid pace during the early fifties, thus causing this particular fund to increase by leaps and bounds from year to year. The fund being payable to the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, it would seem that the office was becoming one of very great financial responsibility, demanding for its occupant a person of considerable business acumen. Such was the rapidly increasing importance of the office when the campaign for nomination and election to fill the approaching vacancy in the office of Superintendent opened in January, 1854.¹²

⁹ *Laws of Iowa, 1847-1848*, pp. 121, 122.

¹⁰ *9 United States Statutes at Large* 349.

¹¹ *Code of 1851*, Secs. 1056, 1080, 1098.

¹² Owing to the election of the Superintendent on the first Monday in April, the nominating convention was customarily held some time during January.

Under the operation of the existing statutory law and the *Code of 1851* the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction was filled by a supposedly non-partisan triennial election, held upon the first Monday in April.¹³ This made necessary a nomination and preëlection campaign during the winter. Although it had been sought to divorce the office from partisan politics the attempt had failed, the campaign having developed as much partisan bitterness as the regular election later in the year.

Pursuant to a call, a Democratic State Convention met at Iowa City on January 9, 1854, to place in nomination a candidate for Superintendent of Public Instruction. Much interest unexpectedly developed in this office as an opportunity for party preferment. As a result five names were presented to the convention for its consideration and ultimate choice. Among these names was that of Dr. James D. Eads of Fort Madison. No choice was made upon the first ballot, but the second resulted in giving Dr. Eads more than the necessary majority.¹⁴ Thereupon he was declared the party nominee.

The Whigs at their convention failed to place a candidate in the field, since no man could be induced to accept the nomination. Shortly thereafter the Rev. Isaac I. Stewart of Mt. Pleasant announced himself as an independent candidate. To him was thrown the support not only of the Whigs but of the temperance faction as well.¹⁵ The latter was now developing considerable political strength and was particularly vehement in its opposition to the Democratic nominee.

The preëlection campaign was characterized by no small

¹³ *Code of 1851*, Sec. 1076.

¹⁴ Upon the second ballot Dr. Eads received 102 votes out of a total of 195.—*The Weekly Miners' Express* (Dubuque), Vol. XIII, No. 18, January 18, 1854.

¹⁵ *The Weekly Miners' Express* (Dubuque), Vol. XIII, No. 18, January 18, 1854.

amount of personal abuse of the candidates by the partisan press. Rev. Isaac I. Stewart was branded by the Democratic press as unfit for the office, since his work had been largely that of a minister of the gospel.¹⁶ His ability and integrity seemed to be otherwise unimpeachable. The Whig press rejoined that this could not be a vulnerable point since the Democracy's candidate, Dr. Eads, had followed the same calling for a time.¹⁷

The Democratic press lauded Eads as a man "amply qualified" for the position by reason of "his scientific endowments", "his moral rectitude as a man", "his ability, fluency, and refinement as a speaker", and his possessing "in a rare degree" the ability to guard "well the finances of the School Fund".¹⁸ Upon the other hand, the Whig press assailed him as "the most unsuitable man in the ranks of Democracy for the position", "one of the most reckless men that has ever been thrust before the people of Iowa as a candidate for a public office", one who would "make his office subservient to party and personal interests",¹⁹ a man wholly without culture and "grossly deficient in the knowledge of his mother tongue",²⁰ and who was an aggravated violator of the law, giving aid to the rumseller in his nefarious work, and, worst of all, was himself a drunkard.²¹

¹⁶ *The Muscatine Journal*, Vol. V, No. 41, March 10, 1854; and *The Weekly Miners' Express* (Dubuque), Vol. XIII, No. 29, April 5, 1854.

¹⁷ Dr. Eads had at one time been a minister in the Campbellite or Christian Church. See *The Des Moines Courier* (Ottumwa), Vol. VI, No. 11, March 23, 1854; *The Fairfield Ledger*, Vol. IV, No. 4, January 12, 1854; and *The Muscatine Journal*, Vol. V, No. 44, March 31, 1854.

¹⁸ *The Weekly Miners' Express* (Dubuque), Vol. XIII, No. 27, March 22, 1854.

¹⁹ *The Fairfield Ledger*, Vol. IV, No. 14, March 23, 1854.

²⁰ *The Daily Gate City* (Keokuk), Vol. III, No. 33, April 9, 1856; and *The Washington Press* (Washington, Iowa), Vol. I, No. 11, April 9, 1856.

²¹ *The Fairfield Ledger*, Vol. IV, No. 14, March 23, 1854.

Despite the shafts of sarcasm, ridicule, and denunciation hurled at him by the Whig press of the State, the official election returns, certified by the Board of State Canvassers, indicated that Dr. Eads had been elected by a safe majority of 3,931 votes over the Rev. Isaac I. Stewart.²² Dr. Eads and his partisan supporters accepted this large majority as an expression of full confidence in himself and in his ability and fitness for the office.

For nearly a year following his induction into office all apparently went well with Dr. Eads in the discharge of his official duties. Then trouble began to loom up. The rapid settlement of Iowa and the consequent heavy sales of the public lands produced an unforeseen increase in the receipts from the five per cent fund.²³ At the time of its creation the office of State Superintendent had not been thought of as one likely to be greatly burdened with either the care of public moneys or the sale of public lands.²⁴ Possibly thinking that no great financial responsibility would rest upon this official his bond had been fixed at only twenty-five thousand dollars.²⁵

In August, 1855, Governor Grimes was officially informed that the sum of \$226,873.86 lay in the United States Treasury awaiting the order of the properly certified State officer.²⁶ This was the five per cent due the State upon the

²² The returns upon the election as certified by the State Board of Canvassers were: James D. Eads, 17,393; Isaac I. Stewart, 13,462; George Shedd, 71; scattering, 53; total vote, 30,979.—Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

²³ The receipts in this fund for the sale of lands in 1853 were \$54,341.59. In 1854 they had increased to \$226,873.86.

²⁴ Message of Governor Grimes to special session of the Fifth General Assembly, July 3, 1856.—Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 20.

²⁵ *Code of 1851*, Sec. 1077.

²⁶ Letter of Governor Grimes to the President of the Senate, December 11, 1856.—*Appendix to House Journal*, 1856–1857, p. 704.

sale of public lands from January 1 to December 31, 1854. Upon September 18th the Governor notified Superintendent Eads of this fact, mentioning also that he would expect him to furnish a new bond in the sum of \$250,000 by November 1, 1855.²⁷ Dr. Eads by letter replied that the new bond would be furnished by the time specified. It was not furnished, however, until December 18, 1855. Thereupon Dr. Eads was given a certificate enabling him to draw the money from the United States Treasury.

The State laws, as interpreted by the Governor, required that the five per cent fund should be apportioned to the county school fund commissioners on the twenty-fifth day of January in each year.²⁸ From reports received by Governor Grimes such an apportionment of the part of the fund in question had not been made as late as March 26, 1856. The Governor therefore wrote to Dr. Eads inquiring why the apportionment had not been made in accordance with the law, adding that the State would suffer great loss if this money were permitted to lie unproductive until the ensuing twenty-fifth of January.

The dilatory handling of the school fund upon the part of the State Superintendent caused Governor Grimes in his message to the special session of the General Assembly on July 3, 1856, to recommend that the State Superintendent of Public Instruction be at once divested "of all control over and responsibility for the school money and school lands", adding that it "was designed that he should have charge of the instruction of the State and not of the money of the State."²⁹

²⁷ As to the authority of the Governor to require such a bond consult the *Code of 1851*, Sec. 418; and *Laws of Iowa*, 1854, p. 158.

²⁸ *Code of 1851*, Sec. 1080.

²⁹ Governor Grimes in his special session message of July 3, 1856.—Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 20.

Following the consideration of the Governor's message Senator Hamilton on July 7th offered a resolution calling upon the State Superintendent for accurate and detailed information as to what disposition he had made of the five per cent fund supposedly received by him and apparently not apportioned.³⁰ This resolution was complied with on July 11th by a special report from Superintendent Eads.³¹

According to this report Superintendent Eads had received in January, 1855, the sum of \$54,341.59, due on the five per cent fund for 1853. This was apportioned to the several fund commissioners on the first of March thereafter, but had not all been claimed. Later, the unclaimed portion had been loaned by him and secured by mortgage on real estate as required by law.

In March, 1856, he had received from the general government the sum of \$226,800.86. Of this amount he had loaned to individuals on real estate security a total of \$84,300, and had transmitted to school fund commissioners a total of \$92,500, leaving a balance on hand of \$50,450.86, according to his report.³² He had from time to time made deposits totalling \$50,000 with banking firms of Iowa City, further sums aggregating \$35,000 had been deposited with Fort Madison bankers, and an additional amount of \$50,000 with the State Treasurer — M. L. Morris. This latter alleged deposit was at once emphatically denied by Treasurer Morris as ever having been made.³³

³⁰ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, p. 21; *The Daily Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City), Vol. I, No. 108, July 7, 1856.

³¹ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, pp. 1-18.

³² The amount loaned to individuals, transmitted to fund commissioners, and remaining on hand as a balance, totals — according to Dr. Eads's report — \$227,250.86. He had received \$226,800.86, thus showing an unaccounted for discrepancy of \$450.

³³ Treasurer Morris's letter of denial, to be found in the *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, p. 65, is as follows:

“*Sir* — By a report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, made to the

When called to account by the Senate in the same resolution as to the source of his authority to loan any of the fund, Eads cited in defense the provision of the Code which stated that the Superintendent of Public Instruction should dispose of said fund "according to law". Since the law provided that the fund should be loaned he had done so with a portion. To substantiate his position he appealed to the Attorney General, who informed him that the "law requires the school fund to be loaned. This five per cent. fund being a part of the school fund, is to be disposed of according to law; and as the law places it in the hands of the Superintendent, he is the person to loan it."³⁴ This he considered as fully sustaining him in his contention of a legal right to lend the fund. To further justify his action he maintained that it was far less expensive for the State Superintendent to loan the fund and collect the interest thereon than it would be to have it done by a large number of fund commissioners who would later have to report their actions back to the State Superintendent for approval and possible re-adjustment.³⁵

Upon motion, the communication of the Superintendent was referred to the Senate Committee on Ways and Means. Mr. Preston, chairman of this committee, reported on the same day, July 11th, a resolution which was adopted, calling upon the Superintendent for detailed information concerning the loans made by him from school moneys — to

Senate, it appears that said officer has *deposited* \$50,000 with the State Treasurer. Now all I have to say in answer to the above allegation, is, that no such deposit has been made in this office during my administration.

Yours, truly,

M. L. MORRIS,
State Treasurer."

— *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, p. 65.

³⁴ *The Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1856, p. 17. The letter of Attorney General D. C. Cloud is here given in full.

³⁵ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, p. 3.

whom made, for what security, the rate of interest, the term of each loan, as well as the time and terms of each bank deposit, etc.³⁶

This resolution was superseded by the adoption of another upon the following day. This latter resolution, introduced by Mr. Hamilton, provided for an investigation by the Committee on Ways and Means of "the books, accounts, vouchers, securities, and moneys, in the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and of the State Treasurer",³⁷ and for a report of its findings to the Senate.

Upon July 14th, while the committee was conducting the investigation preparatory to the issuance of its report, Mr. Coolbaugh introduced a bill forbidding the further loaning of the school funds by the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.³⁸ The measure passed both houses on the same day and on July 15th was presented to and approved by the Governor. An act the purpose of which was to prevent the Superintendent from acquiring any more school moneys was passed later, but for some reason did not reach the Governor and hence failed to become a law. Thus did the General Assembly seek to safeguard the school fund of the State from further mismanagement.

Coincidental with the approval by Governor Grimes of the bill forbidding further loans, the Committee on Ways and Means reported to the Senate the result of its investigation.³⁹ This report was filed only after a "careful examination" had been made of the papers, books, and vouchers of the offices investigated.

The report was published as an appendix to the *Senate Journal* for the special session and occupies nearly nine

³⁶ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, pp. 56, 59.

³⁷ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, p. 66.

³⁸ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, pp. 82, 83, 84; and *Laws of Iowa* (Special Session), 1856, p. 95.

³⁹ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, p. 85.

printed pages setting forth in some detail the purported loans, deposits, and apportionments of school fund money made by the Superintendent.⁴⁰ The findings of the committee may be summarized as follows:

1st. No deposit of \$50,000 had been made with the State Treasurer as stated by the Superintendent in his special report of July 11th.⁴¹

2nd. The Superintendent received from the general government in January, 1855, as the proceeds of public land sales for 1853 the sum of \$54,341.59. Of this sum \$32,041.59 had been apportioned to the various counties, according to the receipts of school fund commissioners on file in the Superintendent's office. This left as unaccounted for the sum of \$22,300, which the Superintendent claimed had also been apportioned to counties but "no vouchers or other evidence were shown . . . that such sums had been paid over to the Fund Commissioners in the counties named."⁴²

3rd. Superintendent Eads also received on March 10, 1856, the sum of \$226,800.87⁴³ as the proceeds of land sales in 1854. From this amount there had been paid to fund commissioners a total of only \$15,500 as shown by proper vouchers on file in the office of the Superintendent.⁴⁴ There

⁴⁰ *Report of the Committee of Ways and Means, in relation to the State Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction in the Senate Journal (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, pp. 19-26.*

⁴¹ See sworn statement by Treasurer M. L. Morris in the *Senate Journal (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, p. 26.*

⁴² *Senate Journal (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, pp. 20, 21.*

⁴³ There seems to be no concord of statement concerning the exact amount received at this time from the United States government. Each investigating agent seemed to accept a different amount, and in fact the sums as stated in different parts of this same report do not agree exactly with each other.

⁴⁴ Vouchers on file exhibited payments as having been made to county school fund commissioners as follows: Des Moines County, \$5000; Wapello County, \$5000; Johnson County, \$5000; Benton County, \$500; total, \$15,500.—*Senate Journal (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, p. 21.*

had been loaned to various individuals on five years credit at ten per cent interest and purporting to be secured by mortgages on real estate an aggregate amount of \$61,310, and there was left in cash in the hands of the Superintendent the sum of \$73,945.81. Of this amount \$32,525.81 was on deposit in banks, while \$41,420 was supposedly in the possession of the Superintendent neither loaned, deposited, nor apportioned. This gave an aggregate amount accounted for in a proper manner of \$150,755.81, and left \$76,044.75⁴⁵ unaccounted for by vouchers. Of this sum the Superintendent claimed to have sent to the Fund Commissioners \$72,000, but there was no evidence to prove that he had done so.⁴⁶

Perhaps the further conclusions of the committee can be best and most clearly stated in its own language:

Assuming that the statements made to your committee by the Superintendent are true, it evinces a carelessness on his part in the discharge of the duties pertaining to his office, which your committee feel it their duty to reprehend in the strongest manner and indicates in their opinion an unfitness on his part to manage so large a fund, that must seem apparent to all.

Your committee also feel it their duty to call the attention of the Senate to the assumption of authority by that officer, in the absence of any positive enactment of law, in the loaning out, on a long credit, and with a recklessness in respect to security, which no private individual would for a moment tolerate, a large portion of the fund arising from the proceeds of the sales of the public lands. If it was the duty of that officer to apportion the amount of the fund in January, 1855, when it amounted to only \$54,341.59, as he seems to have acknowledged by his act in distributing it as he did on the 1st of March, 1855, your committee cannot conceive why he should not have considered [it] equally his duty to distribute the fund coming into his hands in March, 1856, when it amounted to \$226,800.56.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ This amount should properly be \$76,045.06.

⁴⁶ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, p. 23.

⁴⁷ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, pp. 23, 24.

Moreover, the distribution of the fund by the Superintendent was palpably unequal as shown by his own reports. This in itself seemed to the committee to reflect seriously upon his honesty in the management of the fund. Of the \$54,341.59 supposedly apportioned by him on March 25, 1855, the sum of \$20,700.59 was sent to Lee County alone, according to his own verbal statement, while to Dubuque and Des Moines counties went only \$2,000 each, "and more than half of the organized counties of the State did not receive any." The same thing happened to the fund received on March 10, 1856 — \$226,800.86. Of this sum "the Superintendent claims to have distributed some \$92,500 among thirteen different counties, though your committee . . . found vouchers for only \$15,500 so apportioned, but of the sum claimed to have been distributed by him, Lee County is again made to receive \$30,000 while Dubuque, Mahaska and other populous counties received nothing."⁴⁸ The committee further said:

So flagrant a violation of fairness and equality in the apportionment of the School fund . . . demonstrates . . . the utter incapacity of the present Superintendent of Public Instruction to manage the School fund. . . .

Your committee would therefore recommend that the law authorizing the Superintendent to receive the fund now due the State from the General Government, accruing on the sales of the proceeds of the public lands for the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1856, be repealed.⁴⁹

This report indicates that of \$281,142.45 of the five per cent fund received by Superintendent Eads fully \$98,344.75 was unaccounted for by proper vouchers of any kind, the only evidence of its distribution being the verbal assurance of the Superintendent himself. At the same time, a report so adverse to Dr. Eads can not be charged to party enmity

⁴⁸ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, pp. 24, 25.

⁴⁹ *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, Appendix, p. 25.

since the committee was "composed of both political parties" and made "a unanimous and decided report",⁵⁰ one "which demonstrated the most careless and reckless management that could well be conceived."⁵¹

As a matter of course Eads did not permit a report of this nature to be given publicity without its being challenged; for on July 29, 1856, he issued from West Point, Iowa, a statement entitled—"A CARD—To the Public".⁵² In this "card" he protested that all moneys loaned by him were on real estate security, the property in all cases being worth from fifty to five hundred per cent more than the money loaned. Furthermore, in all cases of doubtful value or title the land was first duly appraised or the title examined before the loan was made upon it; and loans were made only to the very best men in the State belonging to both political parties.

Concerning the charge that no provision of law authorized him to loan the school fund, he rejoined that he "had taken the opinion of the best legal gentlemen of the State, with that of the Attorney General of the State, all of whom agreed that the Superintendent of Public Instruction was the only person who had any right to loan this particular fund If I have secured the money loaned, . . . as above referred to, the fund is safe, and the people not wronged", adding that he "had not loaned one cent of the public funds" in his own name.

The committee report was received and read, but no corrective legislative action was taken inasmuch as the only recommendation of the committee looking toward such an end had already been enacted into law by the General As-

⁵⁰ *The Washington Press* (Washington, Iowa), Vol. I, No. 17, August 13, 1856.

⁵¹ *The Des Moines Valley Whig* (Keokuk), Vol. X, No. 48, July 30, 1856.

⁵² This "card" was published in full in *The Daily Capitol Reporter* (Iowa City), Vol. I, No. 133, August 15, 1856.

sembly in an act directing that the Superintendent should no longer be the receiver of school moneys. Through failure to reach the Governor, however, this act had, as noted, failed to become a law.⁵³

All might now have gone well with Superintendent Eads if his non-compliance with certain laws of the special session had not precipitated a second conflict with Governor Grimes. Eads in submitting his biennial report to the Sixth General Assembly on December 1, 1856, saw fit to attack the official conduct of the Governor.⁵⁴ The direct cause of the unhappy misunderstanding was a joint resolution passed at the special session of the Fifth General Assembly and approved by the Governor on July 15, 1856.⁵⁵ This resolution authorized the borrowing of one hundred thousand dollars by the State from the school fund and appointed the Governor as the agent for that purpose.

Governor Grimes at once asked for the full amount of the loan, but received only forty thousand dollars of that amount. Upon October 26th he by letter requested Eads to pay over to him the remainder — sixty thousand dollars — in order to meet an unlooked for exigency. To this request Governor Grimes stated that he never received a reply, verbal or written.⁵⁶

Dr. Eads received word in the late fall of 1856 that \$185,000 was then in Washington awaiting delivery to the properly certified State officer.⁵⁷ According to his report

⁵³ This bill was Senate File No. 32.— *Senate Journal* (Special Session), 1856, pp. 86, 89.

⁵⁴ *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1856, pp. 18, 19.

⁵⁵ *Laws of Iowa* (Special Session), 1856, p. 100, Joint Resolution No. 9.

⁵⁶ *House Journal*, 1856-1857, Appendix, pp. 708, 709; and *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1856, p. 49.

⁵⁷ The correct amount awaiting a properly certified call was \$185,785.32.— Shambaugh's *Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa*, Vol. II, p. 29; and *The Washington Press* (Washington, Iowa), Vol. I, No. 32, December 10, 1856.

he, out of respect to the Governor, asked for the latter's certificate permitting him to draw the fund. The Governor replied that he would issue the certificate if Dr. Eads would file an additional bond in the penal sum of \$200,000. Such a bond was secured and personally presented to the Governor in Burlington. Yet, said Eads, the Governor refused the certificate unless the Superintendent would pledge the payment to him of sixty thousand dollars from the amount to be received and agree to hold the remainder subject to the action of the General Assembly at the approaching regular session. These conditions were thought by Eads to be unreasonable, and hence were refused by him, whereupon the Governor declined to give the certificate desired.⁵⁸ In referring to this episode Eads said:

Thus terminated the interview. By the hindrance and improper interference of the Executive Department with the duties assigned to the Superintendent, the School Fund of the State is now daily suffering loss at the rate of eighteen thousand five hundred dollars per annum in interest, or over one thousand five hundred dollars per month! Whether this was the result of a corrupt combination on the part of the Governor and others desiring to obtain the control and use of this fund for personal aggrandizement is for the General Assembly to determine by investigation, or *pass over in silence*.⁵⁹

On account of this arraignment of the Governor the Senate, on December 10th, passed a resolution calling upon that officer for a statement of his transactions with the Superintendent of Public Instruction.⁶⁰ To this the Governor replied on the following day in a message not only incorporating all his correspondence with the Superintendent touching upon the point at issue, but explaining in some detail what had actuated him in the course pursued.⁶¹

⁵⁸ *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1856, p. 18.

⁵⁹ *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1856, pp. 18, 19.

⁶⁰ *Senate Journal*, 1856-1857, pp. 60, 64.

⁶¹ *House Journal*, 1856-1857, Appendix, pp. 704-713, especially pp. 709, 710.

Governor Grimes came directly to the point by stating that Superintendent Eads had called upon him in Burlington but, he said, it "is wholly untrue that he asked for a certificate It is equally untrue that I informed him that if he would file an additional bond acceptable to me, to the amount of \$200,000 or to any other amount, that I would so certify."

The Governor as directly and more caustically added concerning the tender of a bond made at the time of this call by Dr. Eads that it "is unqualifiedly false that I declared that the bond was acceptable to me I at once objected to it and refused to approve it. . . . No allusion was made to the sixty thousand dollars except that I put to him the question why he had not paid to me that amount or answered my letter."

The reasons for refusal to accept the bond as stated by the Governor to Eads at the time of refusal and later repeated in his special message to the Senate were: (1) The General Assembly had indicated a desire that the Superintendent be given the custody of no more public moneys. (2) The Superintendent had failed to properly distribute the five per cent fund. (3) He had loaned the fund as he saw fit and without authority of law. (4) The Governor knew that the last report of the Superintendent to the legislature concerning the apportionment and distribution of the fund to the county school fund commissioners was false. (5) The Superintendent had violated the law enacted to prevent the loaning of the school fund by that official.⁶²

⁶² "According to the report of the committee on Ways and Means, of the Senate, submitted at the extra session, there had then been loaned to individuals, \$61,310.00; according to the Superintendent's recent report there has therefore, since that time been loaned by him, to individuals, \$91,030.00, and in direct contravention of the law aforesaid."—Letter of Governor Grimes to the President of the Senate, December 11, 1856, in *House Journal*, 1857, Appendix, pp. 709-713.

The Governor's regular biennial message of December 2nd and the special message of December 11th were productive of a large amount of legislation touching upon the receipt and management of the school funds, mostly corrective in aim. These measures may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Superintendent was relieved of the control of school moneys and school lands.⁶³ (2) All school funds were hereafter to be paid to the State Treasurer.⁶⁴ (3) Provision was made for the selection of a joint committee of members from both houses to investigate and report particularly concerning the loans made by the Superintendent from the school funds.⁶⁵ (4) James D. Eads was specifically required by name to pay over to the State Treasurer all school "monies now in his hands, which may have been, or which shall be paid to him" by school fund commissioners.⁶⁶ (5) The Attorney General was directed to investigate violations of section 2618 of the Code by any officer entrusted with school fund management and, if such violations were found, to institute proceedings in the manner prescribed by law.⁶⁷ (6) Provision was made for the appointment by the Governor of an agent or agents "to investigate the character and availability of all pretended loans of school money made by the superintendent of public instruction".⁶⁸

The next move upon the part of Governor Grimes was

⁶³ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, pp. 1, 297.

⁶⁴ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, pp. 5, 8, 297.

⁶⁵ The members of this committee upon the part of the Senate were Senators Coolbaugh, Saunders, and Trimble. Upon the part of the House they were Representatives Cloud, Hardie of Dubuque, Davis, Van Valkenburg, and Kirkpatrick.—*Senate Journal*, 1856-1857, p. 90; and *House Journal*, 1856-1857, p. 101.

⁶⁶ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, p. 297.

⁶⁷ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, p. 463.

⁶⁸ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856-1857, pp. 243, 244.

quite as startling to the people at large as to Eads himself. Alarmed at developments in the conduct of the Superintendent, Joseph Van Valkenburg, one of the sureties, on January 12, 1857, petitioned the Governor to be released from further liability on Eads's bond.⁶⁹ In accordance with certain provisions of law Mr. Van Valkenburg petitioned that Eads be summoned to appear before the Governor and show cause why he should not be required to furnish new security upon his official bond and release the petitioner from liability thereon.

Eads was so notified but failed to appear. Upon the conclusion of the hearing it was ordered that he furnish a new bond to be filed for approval on or before January 26, 1857. This he also failed to do.⁷⁰ "By his non-compliance with the order, Dr. Eads ceased under the law to be a public officer of the State."⁷¹ Thereupon, on February 5th, Governor Grimes appointed Dr. J. C. Stone of Iowa City as Superintendent to fill the vacancy thus created.⁷² Dr. Eads, however, refused to surrender the office and for some

⁶⁹ The reasons stated by Mr. Van Valkenburg for requesting his release were: (1) Dr. Eads had loaned the school fund without the security required by law; (2) he had loaned money of the school fund contrary to law; (3) he had loaned school fund money which the legislature had prohibited him to loan; and (4) he had acted in violation of the law governing his duty as Superintendent of Public Instruction.—Petition in the Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa; and *Muscatine Daily Journal*, Vol. II, No. 189, March 20, 1857.

⁷⁰ Governor Grimes had notified Dr. Eads to furnish an additional bond of \$50,000. Dr. Eads in his letter addressed "To the People of Iowa" writes that "after consultation with my friends, I determined not to give any such bond, as all agreed that it was *unreasonable* and *exorbitant*, from the fact that he had before demanded and received from me, bonds to the amount of THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS."—*The Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. IX, No. 35, April 2, 1857; and *The Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 28, 1857.

⁷¹ *The Muscatine Daily Journal*, Vol. II, No. 189, March 20, 1857.

⁷² *The Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. IX, No. 35, April 2, 1857; *The Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 28, 1857; and *The Iowa City Republican*, February 5, 1857.

unexplained reason was able to maintain his official position until the end of the term for which he was elected.⁷³

At the suggestion of friends, on March 7, 1857, Eads issued a defensive statement through the public press.⁷⁴ He bitterly attacked Governor Grimes for requiring the new bond, accusing him of plotting to obtain a Superintendent who would be the pliant tool of the Governor so "that they [the Governor and his political associates] may complete the work already begun, cover up their iniquity, and get possession of the school lands remaining yet unsold. . . ."⁷⁵ I shall not permit or recognize his [Dr. Stone's] authority, as his appointment is made without authority of law."⁷⁶ With this public statement the unhappy incident of the removal came to a close.

By virtue of "An Act concerning school monies," approved on January 28, 1857, Governor Grimes appointed Mr. J. M. Beck of Fort Madison, Iowa, as State agent "to investigate the character and availability of all pretended

⁷³ *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 1857, p. 30; *The Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. IX, No. 35, April 2, 1857; and *The Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 28, 1857.

⁷⁴ *The Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. IX, No. 35, April 2, 1857; and *The Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 28, 1857.

⁷⁵ Dr. Eads wrote concerning Governor Grimes and his associates that "Having seen the hand-writing on the wall, of a fast coming verdict of popular condemnation upon their high handed acts of usurpation, fraud, and robbery of the School funds; and being well convinced that the next Superintendent elect will be a democrat, while their power is passing away, and the people are becoming aroused to their villainy, that horde of bloated vampires who have been fattening upon the spoils of the treasury are exceedingly anxious to get the office out of my hands for one of their pliant tools".—*The Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. IX, No. 35, April 2, 1857; and *The Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 28, 1857.

⁷⁶ Dr. Eads also adds: "Not all the machinations of a corrupt partizan Executive, aided by all the political legerdemain, and intricate machinery of party drill, shall drive me from my post of duty."—*The Iowa Democratic Enquirer* (Muscatine), Vol. IX, No. 35, April 2, 1857; and *The Daily Express and Herald* (Dubuque), April 28, 1857.

loans of school money made by the superintendent of public instruction".⁷⁷ Under the authority granted by this act Mr. Beck made a thorough investigation of all loans, transmitting the results of his work to Governor Grimes under date of November 10, 1857.⁷⁸

Mr. Beck found that the State Auditor had in his possession fifty-four notes which he had received from Dr. Eads as having been taken by him for loans of the five per cent fund. These notes amounted to \$155,199.99 in the aggregate. Thirty-eight were accompanied by mortgages as security. Sixteen of these mortgages, eleven of which had not been recorded, were then in the hands of the State Auditor. Six of the remaining number were later received from the Recorder of Lee County, ten came from the same official in Polk County, and three others were received from various sources.⁷⁹

Eleven of the notes, amounting to \$14,746.12 in the aggregate, were taken by Eads for money loaned and purporting to be his own individual funds. Eight notes, amounting in all to \$16,625, were given for property purchased of Eads, while one note for \$20,000 was executed by Eads for money which he borrowed from the school fund himself. Of the fifty-four notes reported by Eads to have been taken by him for loans of the school fund only twenty-nine were given by real borrowers of that fund. Seven

⁷⁷ "SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of such agent or agents as the Governor may direct to investigate the character and availability of all pretended loans of school money made by the superintendent of public instruction, and the value and kind of securities given for such loans, to obtain further and additional security thereon when and where deemed necessary, to institute suits for the recovery of the money as having been obtained without authority of law, when such security is declined or refused, and to do such further acts as may be deemed necessary to secure the safety of the common school fund."—*Laws of Iowa, 1856-1857*, p. 244.

⁷⁸ *Report of J. M. Beck, Agent for Investigating the Disposition of the School Fund During the Administration of James D. Eads, 1857.*

⁷⁹ *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 3.

notes, amounting to \$18,168.87, which had been given for fund loans had no security whatever nor could Mr. Beck obtain any; while eight notes, amounting to \$33,625, were secured to the amount of \$21,970, thus entailing a possible loss of \$11,655, in addition to those notes having no security at all.⁸⁰

“By selling property on time and taking notes therefor, and loaning money at a usurious rate”, Dr. Eads realized a total gain of \$9,455 on purported loans amounting to \$16,875. By receiving notes issued for the latter amount he was able to take \$9,455 in cash from the school fund and thereby balance his account by reporting said notes as loans made by him. In addition he had collected interest to the amount of \$1,189.83, which he had not accounted for. Adding his \$20,000 note, the interest item of \$1,189.83, and his gain of \$9,455 by speculating in property with school fund money, it may be seen that he was enjoying the use and benefit of \$30,644.83 of school fund moneys.⁸¹

For convenience in recapitulation Mr. Beck divided the fifty-four notes into the following groups or classes:

1st. Notes issued to Mr. Eads by investors or borrowers for what they believed were his own personal funds — not school funds — including notes purchased or discounted by Eads.⁸² This group contained seventeen notes given for an aggregate amount of \$34,375. Of this amount \$20,500 was considered good — \$16,000 being satisfactorily secured and \$4,500 collectible. This would indicate a net loss of \$13,875 on this class of notes.⁸³

⁸⁰ *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 20.

⁸¹ *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 21.

⁸² *Report of J. M. Beck*, pp. 21, 22.

⁸³ Not one of these notes “is of such a character as would authorize its being accepted as a loan of the School Fund. Every one of them was a private Note of Mr. Eads, obtained for money loaned, on property sold, and handed over to the State as loans of the School Fund.”— *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 22.

2nd. Notes given for bona fide loans of the school fund. In this class there were twenty-nine notes amounting to \$99,578.87. Of this amount \$11,318.87 was neither collectible nor sufficiently secured.⁸⁴

3rd. The note executed by Eads himself for money loaned to himself. This note was given for \$20,000 and was secured by a mortgage on property valued at \$11,000, which sum, however, could not possibly be realized from the property. "He appropriates to his own use \$20,000; calls it a loan to himself, and hands over as vouchers therefor a Note signed by himself, and secured by mortgage on property worth about half the amount!"⁸⁵ The interest, amounting to several hundred dollars, had never been paid upon this note by Dr. Eads. Mr. Beck therefore considered this note as evidence of defalcation to the amount of \$20,000.

Owing to the chaotic condition of affairs in Mr. Eads's office and the absence of any records, at least any that were worthy, concerning his transactions with the five per cent fund, Mr. Beck was unable to submit any definite statement relating to that officer's shortage. Below are set forth three different means of determining the shortage, as indicated by Mr. Beck, each producing a different amount as a result. The variation is due to differences of opinion as to what constituted defalcation upon the part of a public officer.

First, recapitulating the losses to the fund in accordance with the statements given above:

Loss and deficiency upon notes of the first class	\$13,875.00
Loss and deficiency upon notes of the second class . .	\$11,318.87
Loss on third class — Mr. Eads's note	\$20,000.00
Interest collected and not accounted for	\$ 1,209.93

\$46,403.80⁸⁶

⁸⁴ *Report of J. M. Beck*, pp. 21, 23, 24.

⁸⁵ *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 24.

⁸⁶ *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 25.

This, however, is below the true estimate and is the most favorable showing which can be made for Dr. Eads.

Second, a truer statement of the condition of his affairs would be as follows:

Amount of his private and individual notes in second class — deducting the note of C. B. Waite since paid	\$33,475.00
Loss upon notes of first class by reason of no security	\$11,318.87
Amount of third class — Eads's own note.....	\$20,000.00
Interest collected and not accounted for.....	\$ 1,209.93
	<hr/>
	\$66,003.80 ⁸⁷

Third, according to accounts on file in the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dr. Eads received a total of \$281,042.44 of the five per cent fund during his term of office. He also received \$1,209.93 as interest upon the same. This would make a total debit of \$282,252.37 standing against him.⁸⁸ Balanced against this is a total credit in his favor of \$217,101.59, composed of the following items:

Amount distributed to counties.....	\$ 87,841.59
Amount loaned the State.....	\$ 40,000.00
Amount of bona fide loans — deducting \$11,318.87 as not secured	\$ 88,260.00
Amount received from C. B. Waite's note.....	\$ 1,000.00
	<hr/>
	\$217,101.59

⁸⁷ *Report of J. M. Beck*, pp. 25, 26. An error in the addition of the sums has been corrected.

This estimate was based wholly upon notes and securities in the hands of Mr. Beck and "not upon the amount of money which Mr. Eads received and disbursed. The sum he received may be easily ascertained, but it would be a difficult, if not an impossible task to ascertain the amount he disbursed. His reports do not agree with each other; his vouchers do not agree with his report, and in several cases, the books and statements of officers receiving money from him contradict both his vouchers and reports."— *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 26.

⁸⁸ *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 28.

To recapitulate:

Debit,	\$282,252.37
Credit,	217,101.59
	<hr/>
Deficit,	\$ 65,150.78 ⁸⁹

In reply to a letter of inquiry addressed to him by Mr. Beck, the Comptroller of the United States Treasury reported that a total of \$281,315.45 of five per cent funds had been paid to the State of Iowa during Dr. Eads's term of office. Iowa State officers charged against Eads for the same fund and the same period a total of \$281,042.44 — a difference of \$273.01.⁹⁰ The report of the Comptroller is presumed to have been correct. Hence, the sum of \$273.01 should be added to the deficit indicated above — \$65,150.78 — to secure the total deficit, which then would be \$65,423.79. This latter total Mr. Beck concluded to be the true amount of the deficit in the accounts of Dr. Eads and the sum for which his bondsmen should be held liable.

Soon after the transmission of this report by the Governor the Seventh General Assembly passed an act, approved on March 15, 1858, authorizing the Governor to appoint "a Commissioner to settle with the sureties of J. D. Eads, late Superintendent of Public Instruction."⁹¹ In compliance with this act, Governor Lowe appointed Robert A. Russell of Fort Madison, Iowa, to effect such a settlement, using Beck's report as a basis.⁹²

Immediately upon the receipt of his commission Mr. Russell notified the sureties upon the three Eads bonds that he would meet them at his office in Fort Madison on June 1, 1858, for the purpose of reaching a settlement on the terms

⁸⁹ *Report of J. M. Beck*, pp. 28, 29.

⁹⁰ *Report of J. M. Beck*, p. 29.

⁹¹ *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, p. 92.

⁹² *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), Vol. IV, No. 48, January 11, 1860.

contemplated by the law. Sufficient time was permitted by the notice for the most distant surety to be present on the day appointed. Not one answered the notice, however, and only two came to make inquiries.⁹³ Consequently no settlement could be made.

It would seem that this failure to appear and attempt a settlement upon the part of the sureties was due to their objection to making a settlement with the Beck report as a basis. This report was objected to for the following reasons:

1. It was based upon evidence obtained from every source but the proper one — Dr. Eads himself.⁹⁴

2. The sureties “know nothing about my accounts with the State.”⁹⁵

3. If all the papers had been left in Dr. Eads’s hands he could have settled the matter satisfactorily.⁹⁶

4. The deficiency in accounts was only apparent.⁹⁷

5. Dr. Eads had always been ready and willing to settle, but had had no opportunity to do so.⁹⁸

6. The Beck report was “a *one-sided partizan concern*”,

⁹³ *Report of Commissioner Robert A. Russell*, June 4, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁹⁴ Letter from Dr. Eads to Governor R. P. Lowe, June 26, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁹⁵ “It would be impossible for them to know what was *right* and *just* until a final settlement was first made with me.”—Letter from Dr. Eads to Governor R. P. Lowe, June 26, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁹⁶ By this act of taking away his papers “the State assumed the responsibility of collecting them herself . . . they assumed the ownership and entire control of the whole matter.”—Letter from Dr. Eads to Commissioner Robert A. Russell, June 24, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁹⁷ Letter from Dr. Eads to Governor R. P. Lowe, June 26, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

⁹⁸ Letters from Dr. Eads to Governor R. P. Lowe, June 26, 1858, and July 9, 1858, and to Commissioner Robert A. Russell, June 24, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

the result of prejudice; and "it does not embrace all the business which I had with the State as Superintendent."⁹⁹

Commissioner Russell was impressed with the belief that Dr. Eads and his sureties were simply taking up time in an effort to defer a settlement upon any basis. He expressed the belief that if an adjustment were effected at all it would have to be accomplished as the outcome of a lawsuit.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, he pointed out that whatever course should be determined upon ought to be attended to promptly, since the sureties who "are worth anything at all, . . . will be endeavoring to put their property out of their hands."¹⁰¹

Dr. Eads resented the attempt upon the part of the State to negotiate a settlement with his sureties, chiefly upon the alleged grounds that instead of his owing the State some sixty-five thousand dollars as indicated by the Beek report, the State was really indebted to him in a sum equalling nearly twenty-seven thousand dollars. In support of this contention he submitted the following abstract of his accounts as Superintendent of Public Instruction, insisting that he had in his possession vouchers from the proper officers which would bear out his claims:

James D. Eads Sup. of Pub. Inst.

To the 5 per cent Fund Dr

January 1855, To Amt Recd. \$ 54,441.59

To Amt Recd. \$226,873.86

\$281,315.45

⁹⁹ Letter from Dr. Eads to Governor R. P. Lowe, July 9, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹⁰⁰ Letter from Commissioner Robert A. Russell to Governor R. P. Lowe, July 16, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹⁰¹ Letter from Commissioner Robert A. Russell to Governor R. P. Lowe, June 4, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

Cr.

By Amt paid Auditor of State and School Fund Commissioners as shown by the Report of Mr. Beck and the Report of the Auditor to the late Legislature	\$242,541.49
By amount paid School Fund Commissioners and other Officers authorized by law to receive it; and that reported by the Auditor for which I hold Vouchers	\$ 21,000.00
By Amt loaned Governor Grimes for use of the State	\$ 40,000.00
By Amt., charged for receiving from the U. S. Treasury \$281,315.45 and delivering the same at Iowa City	\$ 4,281.61
By Amount paid for Postage and Extra Clerk Hire	\$ 394.00
	<hr/>
	\$308,217.07
Amt Brot down.....	\$281,315.45
	<hr/>
Bal. due me.....	\$ 26,902.62 ¹⁰²

Attorney General Rice, in compliance with a joint resolution passed by the Sixth General Assembly approved on January 28, 1857,¹⁰³ had in the meantime presented Dr. Eads to the Johnson County grand jury at Iowa City upon the criminal charge of embezzlement.¹⁰⁴ The evidence upon which the charge was based required several days for ade-

¹⁰² This statement of Dr. Eads's account with the State concerning the five per cent fund is incorporated in two letters—one to Governor R. P. Lowe written by Dr. Eads himself and a second to Governor R. P. Lowe written by Commissioner Robert A. Russell, the latter including a copy of the abstract of account. The statement of account contained in the former of the two letters has been taken as the more reliable since it is the work of Dr. Eads himself. There is a disagreement between the two abstracts of approximately \$1246.

"No person who was acquainted with the Dr.'s circumstances when he took charge of the School Fund can be made to believe that he had \$27,000 to advance to the interest of the School Fund."—Letter from Commissioner Robert A. Russell to Governor R. P. Lowe, July 16, 1858, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹⁰³ *Laws of Iowa*, 1856–1857, p. 463.

¹⁰⁴ *The Washington Press* (Washington, Iowa), Vol. III, No. 22, October 13, 1858.

quate presentation to the jury. The jury, however, refused to return a true bill against Dr. Eads.¹⁰⁵ Later, a civil suit for the recovery of some \$71,880.97 was instituted by the same official against Dr. Eads and his sureties, but was postponed from time to time owing to the efforts being made by Commissioner Russell to settle matters in some satisfactory manner.¹⁰⁶ Upon Mr. Rice's retirement from office the civil suit was not continued by his successor and was finally struck from the docket.¹⁰⁷

The Eads defalcation seems to have been the paramount topic of discussion at this time. While Commissioner Russell was endeavoring to effect a settlement and Attorney General Rice was seeking the indictment of Dr. Eads for embezzlement, a third investigation of Eads's affairs was being carried on under the authority of the General Assembly of Iowa. This inquiry was conducted by a board of three commissioners, appointed by Governor Lowe, who reported the results of their work to the Governor on June 1, 1858.¹⁰⁸

Little additional information was disclosed in this report owing to the fact that the two preceding investigations and

¹⁰⁵ The grand jury stood eleven to one in favor of returning a true bill against Dr. Eads.—*The Washington Press* (Washington, Iowa), Vol. III, No. 22, October 13, 1858.

¹⁰⁶ *The Washington Press* (Washington, Iowa), Vol. III, No. 22, October 13, 1858.

¹⁰⁷ Attorney General Rice was accused of being dilatory in the prosecution of Dr. Eads. In defense of what he had done he published a letter in the *Davenport Gazette* in which he stated that "There has never been a time that suit could have been instituted under the policy adopted by the General Assembly—and the policy was . . . considered to have been the only one that could have resulted successfully in securing this fund."

This policy of the General Assembly was that of attempting collection without recourse to the courts.

¹⁰⁸ The commissioners appointed by Governor Lowe were Messrs. John A. Kasson, J. M. Griffiths, and Thomas Seeley. They were appointed by virtue of an act of the Seventh General Assembly, approved on March 23, 1858. For this act see the *Laws of Iowa*, 1858, pp. 410-412.

reports had been quite thorough and because, also, of the "utter confusion" existing in the business of the office during Dr. Eads's administration.¹⁰⁹

Such irreconcilable statements and so many erasures and alterations were found in the book kept by Dr. Eads that the commissioners were forced to the conclusion that the book was entirely unreliable as a record. In no case did the records found in this book agree with his published reports. Despairing of reaching any tangible result, owing to this condition, without "an investigation very much extended, and over a good part of the State", the commissioners adopted in the main the facts which had previously been reported by Mr. Beck.

As a criterion upon which to base a conclusion as to the amount of the defalcation, the commissioners adopted the following rules of procedure: (1) They charged Dr. Eads with the whole amount received from the United States by him. (2) They credited him with "all bona fide loans from this fund, made to parties *as such*, with the highest degree of prudence and care in the investments and securities". (3) They did not credit him "for loans made to parties *as from his own funds*, the securities running to the individual, not to the officer".¹¹⁰

Proceeding upon this basis they submitted the following statement of the accounts of Dr. Eads with the five per cent fund:

¹⁰⁹ *Report of the State Commissioners on the Affairs of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, p. 9, in *Legislative Documents*, 1859-1860. Hereafter when referring to this document it will be cited as *Report of the State Commissioners*, 1858.

¹¹⁰ *Report of the State Commissioners*, 1858, pp. 9-11.

The Commissioners would not recommend crediting Dr. Eads with the loans as made "unless the State chooses to accept these, and discharge him *pro tanto*. The evidence of investment carrying no notice of its public character, and being understood by at least one of the parties, as a private loan, the act would show *prima facie*, a conversion of the public money to that extent."

Dr.

There was paid to him in fact, as follows:

Dec. 15, 1854, (per certificate U. S. Comptroller,)	\$ 54,441.59
January 2, 1856, (per certificate U. S. Comptroller,)	\$226,873.86

\$281,315.45

Cr.

Distributed to counties, as per vouchers, (except Davis county, which received \$5,000, more than voucher calls for) some of which are doubted,.....	\$ 92,341.59
Loaned the State, July 15, 1856,.....	\$ 40,000.00
Bona fide School Fund loans, satisfactorily secured, as reported by Mr. Beck, ex- cepting therefrom his No. 45, as not well secured.	\$ 77,330.00

\$209,671.59

Leaving not satisfactorily accounted for..	\$ 71,643.86
For which add interest paid to him on al- leged school loans and retained.....	\$ 1,237.11

Thus making total apparent deficit.....	\$ 72,880.97
Subject to a deduction of Waite's note, since paid, (\$1,000,) and whatever may be realized from the collaterals held by the State. ¹¹¹	

The conclusions of this report were accepted as final in fixing the amount of the defalcation. Henceforth, all action taken was based upon the amount of the final deficit after deducting Waite's note, as given above — \$71,880.97.

In concluding their report the commissioners recommended four forms of recourse, two of which were later attempted, namely, the bringing of a suit against Dr. Eads and his bondsmen, and an effort to adjust the whole matter by mutual agreement through referees. Neither plan

¹¹¹ *Report of the State Commissioners, 1858, pp. 10, 11.*

proved successful in accomplishing the end sought. The conviction of the investigators was quite succinctly stated in the belief that "There is no information, there are no facts or records, in any department or office of the State Government, that will enable any officer to audit this claim."¹¹²

During his official term Dr. Eads had been required to file three bonds for a total penal sum of three hundred thousand dollars.¹¹³ This additional security had been considered advisable and necessary owing to the rapidly increasing financial responsibility attached to the office. Under the operation of the *Code of 1851* the sureties upon each of these bonds remained liable to the amount of the security subscribed by them as if no new bond had been filed;¹¹⁴ that is, the new bonds had been merely the filing of new and additional security and did not supplant those previously filed.¹¹⁵

Upon the publication of the report of the commissioners, above mentioned, and its acceptance as a final statement fixing definitely the amount of the Eads deficiency, attempts were made to have the sureties relieved from their liabil-

¹¹² *Report of the State Commissioners*, 1858, pp. 14-16.

¹¹³ The first bond — drawn in the penal sum of twenty-five thousand dollars — was filed in the office of the Secretary of State on June 10, 1854, having been approved by Governor Hempstead on June 7, 1854. This bond was later declared invalid by the judge of the First Judicial District.

The second bond was drawn for a similar amount, was approved by Governor Grimes on May 14, 1855, and was filed with the Secretary of State on May 16, 1855.

The third bond was approved by Governor Grimes on December 18, 1855, and was filed with the Secretary of State on December 21, 1855. This bond was drawn in the penal sum of \$250,000, and was subscribed to by fifty-one persons in addition to Eads as principal. These bonds may be found in the Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹¹⁴ "If such requisition be complied with both the old and new security shall be in force".— *Code of 1851*, Sec. 420.

¹¹⁵ As previously noted this was not true of the first bond which was later declared invalid.

ity.¹¹⁶ Chief among the reasons cited in support of the contention that they should be relieved was the claim that the signers of the third bond were induced to subscribe upon the representation that the paper was a Democratic caucus call.¹¹⁷ Other pleas advanced were that the signers of the first bond had been released from their liability,¹¹⁸ that enforcing the penalty would inflict financial ruin upon the sureties,¹¹⁹ and that as a mere matter of policy the bondsmen should be granted release. The latter plea was founded upon the contention that if release were not granted the whole German element of the State would align itself against the Republican State administration.¹²⁰

Petitions requesting release for the sureties were circulated among the German people of the State, open meetings were held, the public press — German and non-German — became active, while the Governor and members of the legislature were besieged by letters of entreaty, all petitioning that release be granted. Messrs. Joseph Van Valkenburg and A. T. Shaw were commissioned by their fellow sureties to go to Des Moines to present their case to the Governor

¹¹⁶ *The Weekly Ottumwa Courier*, New Series, Vol. V, No. 4, February 2, 1860; *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), Vol. IV, No. 50, January 25, 1860; *The Burlington Free Press*, January 14, 1860; *Senate Journal*, 1860, pp. 200, 201, 310, 311; and letters to Governor Kirkwood written by Messrs. Benedict Hugel, A. J. Shaw, Ex-Governor R. P. Lowe, Jonathan Jones, J. M. Beck, and J. R. Briggs, Jr., Associate Editor of the *Daily Gate City*, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹¹⁷ Letter of Dr. A. J. Shaw to Governor Kirkwood, January 31, 1860, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa; and *The Burlington Free Press*, January 14, 1860.

¹¹⁸ Letter from Jonathan Jones to Governor Kirkwood, December 31, 1860, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹¹⁹ *The Iowa Weekly Citizen* (Des Moines), Vol. IV, No. 50, January 26, 1860; *The Weekly Ottumwa Courier*, New Series, Vol. V, No. 4, February 2, 1860; *The Burlington Free Press*, January 14, 1860.

¹²⁰ Twenty-two of the fifty-one signers of the third bond were Germans.— Letters from A. J. Shaw and Benedict Hugel to Governor Kirkwood, January 30 and 31, 1860, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

and the legislature.¹²¹ Upon February 6, 1860, Senator Rankin of Lee County "presented the petition of 1500 German citizens of Iowa, praying for the release of the sureties of Dr. Eads." Later, Senator Rankin introduced a bill providing for the submission of the question to arbitration or reference.¹²² The measure, however, failed of passage.

While the Eads sureties were urging their cause before the legislature at Des Moines, the State, through Attorney General Rice was preparing for trial, before the Lee County District Court, a civil suit against the signers of the second Eads bond. Fearing the outcome of the suit if it were tried before a Lee County jury,¹²³ Attorney General Rice upon behalf of the State, in May, 1860, accepted the proposition of the counsel for Eads and his sureties that the questions at issue be submitted to a reference board composed of three District Judges constituting a tribunal equal in authority to that of a court.

Thereupon, on June 1, 1860, an order was entered in the Lee County District Court by the presiding Judge — Francis Springer — designating Judges George G. Wright, David S. Wilson, and William G. Woodward as referees to hear and determine the issues between the parties to the pending suit.¹²⁴ Although the suit involved Dr. Eads and the signers of the second bond alone as defendants, the issues presented would, upon their determination affect also the sureties upon the third bond.

On August 24, 1860, the referees met at Fort Madison pursuant to "previous notice given to all concerned." All parties interested were present by counsel, the State being

¹²¹ Letter from Ex-Governor R. P. Lowe to Governor Kirkwood, January 30, 1860, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹²² *Senate Journal*, 1860, pp. 200, 201, 310, 311.

¹²³ Letters from Attorney General Rice to Governor Kirkwood, April 27, and June 4, 1860, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹²⁴ *Report of Referees, State of Iowa vs. James D. Eads, et al.*

represented by the Attorney General and Attorney J. M. Beck, Dr. Eads by J. A. Goodrich, and the sureties by J. C. Hall, S. F. Miller, and D. F. Miller.¹²⁵

“The Referees having heard the evidence and the arguments of Counsel, upon mature consideration thereof” arrived “at the following conclusions upon the propositions of Law which” were “made the criterion of the liability of the defendants.”¹²⁶ These conclusions “may be thus . . . briefly stated. The defendants are liable for the whole of the moneys received by said Eads as Superintendent of

¹²⁵ *Report of Referees, State of Iowa vs. James D. Eads, et al.*

¹²⁶ The following are the propositions of law—as stated by the referees themselves—upon which they based their conclusions:

“1. That in strictness of Law, the Superintendent was not authorized either to loan or to distribute the proceeds of the five per cent fund, coming into his hands, but that it was his duty to hold them (laying the matter before the General Assembly) until some provision of Law should be made in relation thereto. Neither Law nor Equity, however, would hold him responsible on this account. . . .

“2. That the claims which passed to the Auditor of State under the Act of the General Assembly of 22d. Dec. 1856 (Stat. 1857, ch. 10, Sec. 3, p. 8) were not taken & are not held, by the state as collateral security.

“3. That the State, neither by its own action nor by that of its agents, is so far concluded, as to be held to have adopted all the above claims in payment or satisfaction of the liability of the said Eads.

“4. That the evidence does not sustain the conclusion that in all instances, the School Funds were used in the purchase of the lands sold by said Eads, the Securities for which sales were by them delivered to the State as & for evidences of investments of the School moneys.

“5. That the pretended loan by the said Eads of the Twenty Thousand dollars to himself is clearly invalid & that he & his sureties are responsible therefor.

“6. That the defendants are liable for these loans of the School Fund in which no security was taken, or where the security was so manifestly insufficient as to indicate bad faith or an intentional violation of duty.

“7. That the State in exoneration of the Sureties may equitably be held to accept those notes given for sale of Real Estate which are based on actual & valid transactions, when said Eads had title & which are reasonably secured and notes and mortgages may be presumed to be given for legitimate loans and in bona fide transactions & to be properly secured unless the contrary is made to appear.”—*Report of Referees, State of Iowa vs. James D. Eads, et al.*

Public Instruction, subject to the following exceptions & deductions."

- 1st. The Amount distributed to the County Fund Commissioners.
- 2d. The amount paid to the Governor, on the loan to the State, under the joint Resolution of July 15, 1856.
- 3d. The sums purporting to be loaned & in relation to which no marks of bad faith appear.¹²⁷

Under the rules above set forth the referees found, on January 11, 1861, that Eads had received and was accountable for the following sums:

Amount of the five per cent fund for the year 1853 by United States Treasurers Warrant of 19 Dec. 1854.....	\$ 54,441.59
For the same fund for the year 1854 by warrant of Jan. 7, 1856.....	\$226,873.86
Interest received on several notes at divers times	\$ 1,209.93
<hr/>	
Making a total of.....	\$282,525.38
And under the rules above named the Referees find that said Eads is to be allowed the following sums—	
Amount distributed to the School Fund Commissioners of divers Counties	\$ 91,541.59
Amount paid the Governor on the loan of \$100,000 called for by Resolution of 15 July 1856, the sum of \$	40,000.00
And the sum of.....	\$112,536.00
being the amount of "notes" purporting to be for money loaned by the Superintendent	
<hr/>	
	\$244,077.59
Which leaves a balance against Eads of	\$ 38,447.79

¹²⁷ Report of Referees, State of Iowa vs. James D. Eads, et al.

With interest at ten per cent from 1st Aug. 1856 to 10th Oct. 1860 amount- ing to	\$ 16,126.65
Said Eads is not entitled to credit for notes amounting in the aggregate to	\$ 41,418.87
Total balance against Eads.....	\$ 95,993.31 ¹²⁸

In concluding their report the referees recommended that the notes amounting in the aggregate to \$41,418.87 "be placed in the hands of a receiver to be prosecuted & that their proceeds be passed to the credit of the said sureties as far as they shall have paid the judgment rendered against themselves in this cause."¹²⁹ In keeping with this recommendation, Judge Springer on January 30, 1861, appointed "Joshua Tracy district attorney for the first Judicial District, receiver to take charge of and collect the notes and mortgages which the referees have above recommended should be placed in the hands of a receiver."¹³⁰

Being "desirous of discharging his whole duty" and not wishing it to be said after the close of his term "that others have had to attend to a portion of my duties",¹³¹ Receiver Tracy at once took steps looking toward collection by means of foreclosure. At the expiration of his term of office in 1869 he reported that he had been able to collect by this means a total of \$13,093.96. Later, on November 10, 1871, there was collected by process of execution on J. B. Dorr et

¹²⁸ *Report of Referees, State of Iowa vs. James D. Eads, et al.*

¹²⁹ The notes for which Dr. Eads was not entitled to credit as designated by the referees were: R. W. Rothrock, \$2000; Leech and McFarland, \$3000; Boyles, Hugel and Stempel, \$4000; A. T. Walling and Co., \$2000; T. J. Cavenor (?), \$7318.87; Thomas Snyder, \$1500; E. W. Lake, \$1000; Gilbert, Burns, McBride and Paul, \$600; James D. Eads, \$20,000; total, \$41,418.87.—*Report of Referees, State of Iowa vs. James D. Eads, et al.*

¹³⁰ Order of Judge Francis Springer appointing Joshua Tracy as Receiver, January 30, 1861, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹³¹ Letter from Attorney Tracy to Governor Kirkwood, January 14, 1861, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

al the sum of \$2961.00.¹³² In addition to this, Attorney General Rice in his final report upon the Eads matter had indicated a collection of \$55,000,¹³³ thus making, up to the year 1872, a total realization of \$71,054.96 by the State upon the Eads loans, the greater portion of which had been collected by execution.

In addition to the above amount in cash, the State had taken approximately ninety city lots and thirty-five acres of city lands in the cities of Keokuk and Des Moines, and 1236.25 acres of land scattered through various counties of the State.¹³⁴ There is nothing in the archives of the State Auditor's office indicating that this real estate was ever realized upon. However, if the State realized proportionately upon this with other real estate sold under execution its sale should have netted approximately ten thousand dollars. This would bring the total net realization by the State on the Eads loans to about \$81,054.96.

How near this might have come to balancing the claims against Eads can not be ascertained without a computation of the interest due upon the unpaid loans. No definite information enabling one to do this is now obtainable. Perhaps the most accurate approximation is that of a *Report on the Losses to the Permanent School Fund*, made by State Auditor John A. Elliott on February 24, 1870, in response to a resolution of the State Senate.¹³⁵ His estimate of losses to that fund due to the Eads loans and sureties was \$140,131.54. This amount included both principal and interest due at the time and is perhaps a little high.

¹³² *Report of Receiver Tracy*, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹³³ Letter from Attorney General Rice to Governor Kirkwood, December 25, 1860, in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹³⁴ Reports in Department of Public Archives, Des Moines, Iowa.

¹³⁵ *Report of the Auditor of State on the Losses to the Permanent School Fund*, p. 7, in *Legislative Documents*, 1870, Vol. II.

It will be noted that there is an apparently irreconcilable disagreement among the four reports considered above as to the amount of James D. Eads's defalcation. No two reports agree in fixing the same sum as the amount of the deficiency. The legislative Committee on Ways and Means reported a shortage of \$98,344.75, the report of Mr. Beck fixed the amount at \$65,423.79, the report of the State commissioners stated the deficiency as being \$71,880.97, and the findings of the referees fixed his defalcation at \$95,993.31.

Mr. Beck's estimate is the most favorable to Dr. Eads. The report rendered by the Committee on Ways and Means differed from that of Mr. Beck in that certain notes rejected by the committee were accepted by Mr. Beck because of his having obtained new or sufficient security. Again, the reports of the State commissioners and Mr. Beck disagree, owing to the rejection by the former of security accepted by the latter. The conclusion of the referees differs from the preceding three, since in this report is incorporated a large interest total not found in any of the others.

It will be recalled that the report of the State commissioners was accepted by Governor Lowe and Attorney General Rice as being the most conclusive verdict upon the amount of the shortage. Upon the report of these men the Attorney General based his civil suit against Eads and his sureties, and this contemporary view may be accepted as evidence of its accuracy and reliability. Moreover, the investigation leading up to the report of the commissioners was most thorough, systematic, and extensive and it contained within itself a critical summary and digest of its predecessors. If, therefore, this report is accepted as authoritative the defalcation of James D. Eads will be found to have been approximately \$71,880.97, not including accrued interest except as noted.

THOMAS TEAKLE

FRENCH EXPEDITION AGAINST THE SAC AND
FOX INDIANS IN THE IOWA COUNTRY,
1734-1735

For many years after the French began to interest themselves in the religious and economic life of the Indians of the Upper Mississippi Valley, peaceful relations between the two races prevailed to such an extent that French missionaries and traders met with considerable success. They came to the tribes of the Great Valley from Canada (New France) chiefly by way of the Great Lakes, Green Bay, the Fox River, a few miles of portage by land, and the Wisconsin River. But there was one tribe of savages which took no fancy to the invaders, gave them no welcome, and after a period of passive resistance burst into open hostility: the Foxes, dwelling upon the banks of the Fox River, in 1712 raised their tomahawks not only against French traders and Jesuits, but against all the tribes which had formed alliances with the French. And so the Fox-Wisconsin waterway became deserted and the business in furs and peltries in the upper country was practically ruined.

Then after fifteen years of bloody wars between the Foxes and neighboring tribes, the French and their Indian allies succeeded in crushing the rebels in two battles, the Foxes being all but exterminated. Scarcely had the French re-established themselves in the Wisconsin and Minnesota country, however, when an event occurred in 1733 which had two important consequences for the Iowa country: the Sac Indians, already filled with sympathy for the fast-vanishing tribe of their Fox neighbors, accidentally shot and killed a prominent French official near Green Bay, and

dreading their inability to atone for the death of so great a man, they cast in their lot with the remnant of the Foxes. The allied tribes accordingly sought refuge across the Mississippi River in the Iowa wilderness.¹

With this discordant tribal element once more revived into a formidable menace the French could not hope to secure a profitable monopoly of the Indian trade. Then it was that Beauharnois, Governor-General of Canada, learning that the allies had established themselves in two forts upon the Wapsipinicon River, decided to send an expedition against them. Accordingly a party of eighty-four French, "consisting of seven officers and the remainder of Cadets, Sergeants, Soldiers, and some settlers", eagerly volunteered for the service, and Iroquois to the number of one hundred and thirty, as well as one hundred Hurons and Pottawattamies, also expressed the greatest willingness to go along to take revenge upon their Sac and Fox enemies.

Captain Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles, a very efficient officer, "greatly loved by the Savages," with a "Constitution capable of Enduring the fatigues of an Expedition which can be undertaken only in a very inclement season, for it will be necessary to proceed a very great distance on foot and on Snow-shoes", was selected to command the party, and he set out from Montreal with his detachment on the 14th of August, 1734, with orders to go to Detroit, to direct his route by Michilimakinac or in a straight line overland, and in the latter case to await the arrival of Sieur de Celoron in command of an Indian force. The Captain had strict instructions to grant peace to the Sacs "if they consent to give up the Renards; If not to destroy both nations And to let our Savages eat them up."²

¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. xiv, xv, 58, 59, 129, 182, 189, 206.

² See Beauharnois' yearly report of the proposed expedition in reply to the

Captain de Noyelles' report on the results of his campaign was found among documents in the archives of the French Minister of Colonies at Paris, and the translation which is reprinted below was published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Volume XVII of its *Collections*, pp. 221-229. The battle described in these pages is the only engagement of its kind recorded in Iowa history.

JACOB VAN DER ZEE

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

Copy of the Relation of the Journey of the Sieur de Noyelle[s] Commanding the War-Party against the Renards and Sakis, sent to Monsieur the Marquis de Beauharnois.

MONSIEUR — As I have already reported my march to you from the time of my departure Until my arrival among the Ouyatonons,³ I have the honor to send You the account of what occurred after the 2nd of January, when I left that place, Down to the present date, the 23rd of April.

When I arrived among the Ouyatonons, I went to see

King's memorial in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 206-210. On p. 112 is to be found the following brief biographical note:

“Nicolas Joseph des Noyelles, Sieur de Fleurimont, was one of the best known officers in the Canadian service. Born in France (1694), he was ensign in the colonial troops at the early age of sixteen, a lieutenant in 1721, and captain in 1732. During the last war with the English, Des Noyelles was lieutenant-colonel in command at Trois Rivières. His earliest known service in the West was among the Miami; his unsuccessful expedition against the Foxes in 1734 is detailed in the present volume. This did not prevent his appointment to command at Detroit in 1736, where he served about two years. In 1743, Des Noyelles was appointed to succeed La Vèrendrye in pursuing Northwest explorations, and for four years, with but little success, he pushed toward the Rocky Mountains. In 1747, he was made commandant at Mackinac, where, for two years, his son had been second in command. Des Noyelles died before 1767, when his eldest son was living in France, and the younger at Quebec.”

³ The French had a post among the Ouiatanon Indians about four miles below the present city of Lafayette, Indiana.

several Kikapous who were Six Leagues from there, and asked them where the Renards might be found. They replied, laying a red calumet at my feet: "They are in that direction" (turning round); That if I wished to obtain more positive Information about them I had only to go to Masanne;⁴ that I would find their principal village there and their People knew where the Renards dwelt. When I went to Them they told me that the Renards were not far away and that they would take me to them. This, Monsieur, was at the time when the Hurons and Iroquois began to give me Trouble notwithstanding all my complaisance toward Them, and all the promises they had made me to listen to your word of which I was the bearer. They told me that they wanted to go and eat up six cabins of Sakis who had taken refuge at the River St. Joseph.⁵ I gave them to understand that your intention, Monsieur, was not to strike the Sakis if they asked for their lives, and if they wished to unite with Us by delivering up the Renards; that most of the Nations who were allied with them had asked us for their pardon on that condition; That if they went to Kill People who had taken refuge among the French in order not to be included in the number of the Rebels, it would have a very bad effect in the upper Countries, and would deprive all the Nations of the confidence that they have in Us. All these discourses, Monsieur, were of no avail. Seventy Hurons started with ten Pouteouätamis of Detroit, saying to me that they wished to eat up those six cabins. I know not what they have done in connection with this. You Perceive, Monsieur, how this Action weakened our forces.⁶

I found among the Kikapous a Missouri chief who was

⁴ This has reference no doubt to the Kickapoo village on the Rock River in western Illinois, opposite the present city of Davenport, Iowa.

⁵ In Michigan.

⁶ This defection reduced the little force to about 240 men.

about to return. I presented him with gifts and recommended Him to inform his Nation⁷ of our march. I gave Him a letter for the Commandant of the post, in which I begged him to urge the Savages of his post to march and join me, and to forward another letter that I wrote to Monsieur Dartaguiette whom I had already informed of my march When I left the Ouyatanons.

I had resolved, Monsieur, after holding a Council with the French and the savages, to pass by the Illinois as I had received no news from Monsieur de Celoron,⁸ although this took me a good deal out of my way. But having been detained by the ice for 22 Days; being moreover without Provisions And unable to obtain any from anywhere, I was compelled to take the route that I followed. When I left the Kikapous, I detached the Sieurs de la Perade and St Ours with several Iroquois and Kikapous⁹ to reconnoitre. They captured five Sakis (one of whom was a chief). There was a Renard with Them who escaped. They ran after Him, calling out in the Illinois tongue so that he might say in his village that he had been pursued by Illinois. The Prisoners told me that they were proceeding to the River St Joseph to speak to their People and ascertain whether it was true that their Father Onontio¹⁰ intended to grant them their lives; that they had been assured of this by a Nepissing with the Chat blanc,¹¹ their chief, who had come to Them and had gone to the Scioux to ask Monsieur de St Pierre¹² whether They could trust that news. They told me

⁷ The Missouri Indians dwelt somewhere upon the lower Missouri River, near the mouth of which the French then had a post.

⁸ This officer was to march southward from Mackinac and join Captain de Noyelles in the campaign against the Sacs and Foxes.

⁹ Forty Kickapoos had united with the little army.

¹⁰ This was the Indian title for the Governor-General of Canada.

¹¹ Noted Sac chief then living at St. Joseph in the Michigan country.

¹² St. Pierre was commandant of Fort Beauharnois, a post among the Sioux Indians of the Minnesota country.

that the Renards were no longer at la Pomme de Cigne and that they had withdrawn to the Rivière sans fourche.¹³ I have the honor to assure you, Monsieur, that without the Prisoners, we should never have seen the Renards, because none of our savages knew what part of the Country They were in, And because the Kickapous their allies who had Followed me to the number of 40 had caused Us to lengthen our journey so that we had our backs turned to them. Our Savages perceived this and warned me. I caused the Prisoners to be told that if they did not lead me straight to the Renards, I would have them tied to the Stake to be burned.

We crossed the Mississipy.¹⁴ I told the Iroquois that we must procure provisions. The Prisoners thought the same because the Buffalo were moving away and we ran the risk of undergoing a long fast. Our savages would not load themselves with dried meat so that they might advance better, for they thought that they were close to the Enemy. On the following day, we began to take only one meal per Day — and a very inferior one at that. On the 12th of March, we reached the Renards' fort¹⁵ where we found Nobody, and we were kept there by the intense cold without any food for two Days. I sent out a reconnoitering party who reported that they had seen four recent Camping-

¹³ The editor of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* appended the following footnote:

“La Pomme de Cigne, or ‘swan-apple,’ is the French form of the Indian name for the Wapsipinicon River, so called from a species of roots that grow plentifully on its banks. The ‘river without a fork’ (Rivière sans fourche) is the Des Moines, as is evident from the succeeding document. This river called the *Moingona*, from an Indian tribe of that name found near it by the explorers of the 17th century, is prominent on early maps, where it is laid down with a straight course, without affluents, and frequently identified with Lahontan’s ‘Rivière Longue.’ ”

¹⁴ Probably somewhere north of the present city of Davenport, so as to reach the valley of the Wapsipinicon River where the Indians were reported to have two forts.

¹⁵ This fort may have been built farther west.

grounds and had followed the tracks. Two Days afterward They came to tell me that they had seen smoke. I sent them back to make sure that they had not been deceived. They assured me that the Report was true. We marched during a portion of the night and crossed several Rivers with the Water Up to our Waists. We stationed ourselves behind a hill while waiting for Daylight, wrapped up in our robes, greatly fatigued, wet through, and very hungry. At Daybreak we reached a Wood bordering on a River. The Savages who wished to have the glory of arriving first and of attacking these four Cabins made Us run four or five Leagues as fast as we could. They were greatly surprised on seeing 55 cabins on the other side of a very wide and rapid River¹⁶ full of floating ice. The son of Nontagarouche, the war-Chief of the Lake of two Mountains told me that we must All swim across. I replied that this was imprudent And that it was Impossible to cross such a River while the cold was so great; That Many of the French and even of their Own People might be unable to swim and moreover that they would wet their arms and ammunition; That as only 60 men of ours, both French and Savages, had arrived, for All Their people were scattered on all sides thinking they would find only these four cabins whose tracks we had followed, it would be more advisable (as we had not yet been discovered) to reassemble and go higher up where we would construct Rafts at the most suitable point for crossing, And then we should be in a position to attack the Enemy with our arms in our hands; While, by following his Advice, the Enemies would be able to kill us as fast as we Landed, even supposing that we should be able to cross. He replied that I was not a man. I could not, Monsieur, restrain my anger nor help saying to Him: "Dog If thou art so brave, swim over and let us See

¹⁶ The Des Moines River.

what Thou wilt do." He did not answer me. I requested him to send some of his People to meet Those who were left behind. All was in vain. He left me with several French who were with Me and he took away his band consisting of about 40 men.¹⁷ When we had marched nearly a league we heard Death-cries and we saw one of our Savages who made signs to us that our People were fighting. We ran toward this man as fast as we could and he told us that one of our French was wounded. I followed the tracks of my people to gather them together. I found several who were crossing the River at its greatest width by means of a jam of drift-wood and of two large logs that the Renards had arranged to enable them to cross and re-cross the River when they went to hunt. We passed over the River like the others and went to the Cabins where we found Nobody as The Enemy had withdrawn to place their women and Children in safety. Seven French and 23 Savages who were the first to arrive found themselves face to face with the Enemy. A Savage chief from Sault St Louis,¹⁸ named Onorakinguiak, called out: "My French and Indian brothers, we are dead men, but we must sell our lives very dearly and not let ourselves be captured." They fought so fiercely that they pushed the Enemy back into the Wood where They had taken refuge. When the latter saw only 30 men, They retraced their steps and tried to surround them so as to take them prisoners. Our people perceived this and fell back, fighting all the time.

¹⁷ These deserters reduced the force to about 200 men.

¹⁸ Father Luc François Nau, a Jesuit missionary at the Iroquois mission of Sault St. Louis, told of the Iroquois part in de Noyelles' expedition as follows:

"The Iroquois of Sault St. Louis are looked upon as the most Warlike of all the american tribes; but this is no proof of their Valor. Their mode of warfare is but stratagem and surprise. Their encounters are mere attempts at assassination. They fight bravely then only when they know that the sole alternative lies between victory or death. Our people have a war on their hands this long time with A Savage tribe called the renards. It has been in a very slight degree successful through the impossibility in which our troops are of

On this occasion the Sieur de Croisille received the wound from which He died. When I arrived with the Sieurs de Lignery, Chevalier de Chaillon and Chabert, a chief from the Lake of two Mountains, several of us French and Savages, marched upon the Enemy to surround them. One of the 30 men came to report their situation to us. I at once sent All Who were with Me to their assistance, and told them that I would join them as soon as the main body of the party which I expected should arrive. I started about half an hour afterward with the Sieurs de la Perade and St. Ours, several French and savages. I dispersed Those who were with Me, some to the right and some to the left, to attack the Enemy. On my side I surrounded seven against whom two shots were fired. I learned at that time that the Sieur Chabert was mortally wounded. About two hours afterward they called out to me that the Enemy were going toward the Wounded to scalp them and this was where the Reserve body was posted. This compelled me to decide to tell our People, as night was approaching, to fall back and seek a place where we could fortify ourselves, secure protection for the wounded, and defend ourselves against the Enemy who were Superior in numbers and quite fresh. I feared with reason, that the Kikapous might side with the

ever overtaking Them in sufficient numbers to destroy Them. Last year ninety of our young men joined the french expedition against the renards; but after inconceivable hardships and a journey of more than seven hundred leagues, Their guides led them astray, and they were obliged to make their way back without having caught sight of The enemy save in one instance. A party of twenty-three savages, nearly all of our mission, and seven frenchmen had somehow become separated from The main body when they found themselves suddenly surrounded by a war party of two hundred renards. Our men would have been destroyed, had it not been for The resolution of the Iroquois Captain. 'We are all dead men,' he said, 'if we surrender. There is no help for it; we have to sell our lives as dearly as we can. Let us show these renards that we are Iroquois and frenchmen.' Whereupon he led his Warriors to the attack. The enemy could not withstand the first onslaught, but retreated precipitately to their fort. Thirty renards were laid low and ten taken prisoners; our party lost but two frenchmen and one savage."

stronger, for I saw them On an Eminence and they looked upon us as beaten. It was very difficult for us to fortify ourselves on a prairie, as the Enemy had seized the Only Island at that place on which their women and Children had made a fort while they were fighting. Through lack of wood, I was obliged to divide my people into two bands, and while I was endeavoring to fortify myself I detached 50 men both French and savages to fire on the Enemies' fort and keep them from attacking us, while we worked.

On the Following morning the Iroquois asked me to go to Them to hold a Council respecting what was to be done. I went without any hesitation to see them. They told me that they had with Them a Savage who could speak every language (this was one Beauvais, a half breed residing at Sault St Louis) who had conversed throughout the night with the Sakis Chief and with one of the Renards who had been captured in the fight. As soon as I arrived I saw a Kikapous who had married among the Renards, enter with a white flag; he said that we had called out to them to come, and that he came to see what was wanted and to listen. I said everything I could to Him to induce the Sakis to abandon the Renards and return to la Baye. He replied that if we really meant what we said we should give up one of their people who was a prisoner. The Iroquois told me that we must send their Chief back to them and that this would induce them to come out of their fort and to abandon the Renards. I consented and this Same Chief returned with presents and porcelain beads and informed me that if we had not attacked Them and if our party consisted solely of French they would not have hesitated to surrender, but that, as the French were not Superior in numbers to the Iroquois to be able to control them, They had every reason to fear that when they were separated from the Renards and at a distance, the Iroquois would put them in the Ket-

tle; That nevertheless on the word of the French They would come out whenever we liked. I said to Him: "Thou mayest come forth in the Daytime and fear nothing, because if the Iroquois wished to act treacherously toward thee, I would oppose it and although we are but few they would not play with Us." He represented to me that it was very late, that the women and Children had not had time to camp, and that it was too cold. On the following day the other Sakis Chiefs sent me word that they could not come out, because the Renards had said to them: "Dogs that ye are, if you abandon us, we will eat your women and Children as soon as you have gone out. We will then fight against you and afterward against the French."

The Sakis sent me a Young sauteur with two of his Sisters, and an Illinois woman whom they had captured last autumn; and I sent them in exchange a Young Saki whom I had with me.

For four days, Monsieur, our Party had had nothing to eat but 12 Dogs and a Horse that was killed at night near the Renards' fort. Several Soldiers were obliged to eat their mocassins. They All asked me to lead them to the assault. When I saw that we were suffering from hunger and had no hope of obtaining provisions, I proposed to the Iroquois to send some of their People to hunt for our subsistence and enable us to attack the Enemy again. They replied blusteringly (as you will see) that we must Fast and work four or five Days more. They afterward asked me to let them go away. I can positively assure you, Monsieur, that they needed food as much as We did, And as we could not hold out any longer, I sent a collar to the Sakis to convince them that their Father¹⁹ had instructed me to tell

¹⁹ The presentation and acceptance of a collar probably signified an alliance or "tie that binds", as did a belt of wampum.

"Their Father" meant, of course, the Governor-General of Canada.

them that he would grant them their lives on condition that they would abandon the Renards, As they had previously promised Him, and return to la Baye.²⁰ They promised me that they would do so.

In this encounter we lost two French and one Huron; four or five savages were wounded. The Enemy had 30 men Killed, wounded, and taken prisoners. I proceeded, Monsieur, to Monsieur Dartaguiette's post to march against the Chicachas²¹ according to your orders. Nearly All our Savages left me and went on the war-path in one direction or another. Most of them told me that they wished to return home to provide for the subsistence of their families.

Monsieur Dartaguiette asked me whether I would go back, saying that a party of 400 Missouris and Kansés with several Frenchmen was about to march Against the Renards and Sakis; that we might unite our forces and destroy them; and that he would give me food and men. I said that I was quite ready to march if he would take upon Himself the responsibility of the expense that this new war would cost. He replied that he would take no responsibility. I did not venture, Monsieur, to take it on Myself in view of the uncertainty of success. Neither could I march against the Chicachas on account of the band that the Missouris had levied against the Renards and the defection of our savages. I have nothing, Monsieur, wherewith to reproach myself and I venture to hope that you will not address any

²⁰ "La Baye" was the French name for Green Bay in Wisconsin. Both the Sacs and the Foxes afterward returned to their old haunts in the Wisconsin country, but on account of the increasing difficulty of obtaining subsistence there, by the end of the 18th century they had established their villages upon both banks of the Mississippi River along the eastern border of the Iowa country. About three hundred Foxes have lived and owned land in Tama County, Iowa, since 1857.

²¹ Pierre d'Artaguiette was probably commandant of the French post near the mouth of the Missouri River, and the Chicachas were the Chickasaw Indians.

reproaches to me when I have done my best. You would hardly believe all that I have been through, and the fatigues I have endured. I would count them as nothing, had I succeeded. The savages Are the Sole Cause of our ill success and They could not help admitting to me that Nontagarouche had made us miss our opportunity.

I take the liberty, Monsieur, of representing to you that on expeditions of this kind It is necessary that the French should be stronger than the Savages so as to be able to dominate them; otherwise They dominate us, and I have experienced this only too well, notwithstanding my complaisance and attention to Them. There was one from the Sault who was bold enough to beat one of our Soldiers in my presence. I pretended to turn my head away as if I had not seen it, for we expected every Day to be abandoned by those people at the first word that we might say to them.

The Kikapou who was married among the Renards, and who followed Those who were with Me was shot dead two leagues from the Renards by an Iroquois who scalped Him in my presence. Never were Savages more surprised. They trembled like leaves, for they dreaded, with reason, that they might All meet the same fate for the Iroquois said: "We have come to seek Enemies; here are some already found since by their conduct they are as much Renards as the others."

[At the head of the department of Canadian finances stood the Intendant, Gilles Hocquart. Because de Noyelles' campaign affected "the hunting of the beaver", the Intendant wrote as follows to his superior in France, the Comptroller-General of Finance, respecting the trade of the Company of the Indies,²²]

At QUEBEC the 26th of October, 1735.

MONSEIGNEUR — I have received the letter that You did me The honor of writing to me on the 10th of March last.

²² The late Mr. Thwaites made the following statement of this company: "This was the famous speculative concern known first as the Mississippi

The receipts from Beaver skins have been considerable this year, notwithstanding the Troubles And the war expeditions in the upper Country, because The Post among the scious and the new post Established for the discovery of the Sea of The west have secured nearly 100 thousand very good skins. The total receipts amounted to 178 thousand livres.

Monsieur Des noyelles left Montreal in the month of August 1734, with 80 French and about 130 of our settled savages to pursue the Sakis and Renards. He took with him on his way, both at Detroit and at the Ouïatanons, about 100 hurons and Poutouatamis. After 7 months' journey both by water and by land, he arrived on the bank of the River Mongona [Des Moines] 60 Leagues from the spot where that River falls into the Mississipi,²³ to which place they had been guided by 40 Kikapoux. The savages and French set to work to cross The River to fall on what they took for 4 Cabins of Renards whose Camping places they had traced. But when 27 savages and 3 French had crossed that River before the main body of The little army had assembled, and as they were about to rush, hatchet in hand, on those 4 cabins, they found themselves surrounded by nearly 250 Sakis and Renards who formed 55 Cabins, and against whom these 30 men fought so well that they compelled them to fall back and to retire into a fort built by the women And Children while the Warriors were fighting; so that when the main body of our small army made its appearance The enemy had retreated, and the Sakis asked Monsieur Desnoyelles for a suspension of hostilities in order to hold a parley. That officer who had been or-

Company, formed by Law in 1717. In 1719 it was reorganized under this title. The company retroceded Louisiana to the King in 1731, but retained commercial rights in the colonies. About this time the company began its famous career in India. It went into liquidation in 1770.'

²³ Probably in the vicinity of the present city of Des Moines.

dered to use naught but conciliatory means to detach the Sakis from the Renards, had recourse to the same and without letting them know the sorry Plight of his army, which consisted only of 240 men — for The Hurons had left at Ouiatanons, and moreover they had no provisions to allow of their sustaining a siege. He nevertheless spoke to the Sakis as a superior, And told them that their father had sent him solely to tell them that he would forgive them for the affair at la Baye on condition that they separated from the Renards and returned to kindle at that spot the fire that they had abandoned. These savages received the *Sieur Desnoyelles's* message with much satisfaction, and replied to him that, on account of the men who had been wounded in the skirmish with our 30 men, they were unable to follow him but that he might assure their father that they would return to their old village as soon as they could. 5 of our Settled hurons who had been on the war-path against the *Chicachas* have reported that 30 of These Sakis were at the River St Joseph, and the remainder at la Baye. This news lacks confirmation; But if It be true, tranquillity will be restored in the Posts, and the remnant of the Renards who are said to be wandering about in the regions of the Mississippi will gradually be destroyed and will not give our savages enough occupation to keep them from hunting. I shall have the honor of writing more particularly about this next year. Moreover, as regards the *sieur Desnoyelles's* Campaign, I cannot better describe to You the fatigues and the hardships that the long journey on foot and hunger caused him and the party under his command to endure, than to say that I am surprised that Frenchmen should have been able to undergo them. In the skirmish that took place on the 19th of April last, we lost two French and one savage. The enemy had 30 killed, wounded and taken prisoners. Had not the Hurons aban-

doned Monsieur Desnoyelles and had the Outawacs of Missilimakinac been able to join him, there would no longer be any question of the Renards at present. No other reason can be assigned for the defection of The hurons except their spirit of independence, in spite of their attachment for the French; And the desire they had to go and eat — thus they speak — other Sakis Established at River St. Joseph who are attached to us, but who displeased the Hurons merely because they bear the name of Sakis. It required all the wisdom and all the prudence of the sieur Demuy, the officer Commanding at the River St Joseph, to restrain the hurons and prevent them from attacking Those Sakis. That the Campaign met with no better success did not depend upon the sieur Desnoyelles. This expedition has in any case shown the savages, And they have acknowledged it, that the French are as capable as they of undertaking Marches and of seeking The enemy at the extremities of the Colony.

The Company of the Indies has done well in relaxing the excessive severity of the ordinance that I promulgated on the 4th of January 1733 for the reduction of the price of Summer Beaver which was 10 sols The livre, both green and dry, on condition that it be burned, because the Hatters of the Kingdom could not make use of it as the company wrote to me. But since it has heeded the representations made to It that such reduction might injure its Trade by inducing the savages and even the French to take to the English²⁴ not only this kind of Beaver, which they accept, but also That of good quality, It has therefore sent orders to its agent to forward to France the Beaver taken in

²⁴ The French were now beginning to complain of the encroachments of English traders upon their fur preserves in both Canada and Louisiana: they looked upon the Anglo-Saxons as dangerous rivals, as an evil which had to be stamped out, and so we find many instances of the plundering and expulsion by the French of these hardy adventurers who had come west from the English

summer, as was practised previous to my ordinance. It has also begged me to raise the price of the same. I considered that it was in its interest to restore matters to their old footing. The Company of the Indies carries on its Trade in good faith, and it would not be proper to suspect it of having asked for The reduction of the price of the Summer Beaver on condition that it be burned, solely in order to obtain it in the future at about the same price as the reduced rate without being obliged to burn it, Moreover, This is a matter of so little consequence that it otherwise deserves no Consideration.

I remain etc.

HOCQUART

colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. After the war by which the French lost Canada to England in 1763, Englishmen became supreme in the fur trade of the Upper Mississippi Valley east of the river and no mean contenders with the Spaniards (to whom France had ceded Louisiana) for products of the trap and chase west of the river. They owed much of their success with the Indians at all times to the importation of liquor.

THE QUAKERS OF IOWA IN 1850

[The following *Journal of Robert Lindsey* should be read in connection with Dr. Louis T. Jones's volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, which has recently been published by The State Historical Society of Iowa. This journal not only furnishes a view of Iowa Quakerism in 1850, but it illustrates the peculiar phraseology and methods employed by the Friends in their religious services.—EDITOR]

INTRODUCTION

Typical of the wanderings of the early itinerant Quaker ministry were the religious travels of the two English Quakers, Benjamin Seebohm¹ and Robert Lindsey.² There was a time when the Quaker preacher, armed with a "minute for religious service" from his Monthly, Quarterly, or even Yearly Meeting,³ free from the modern embarrassments of fixed salary or pastoral charge, and in

¹ Benjamin Seebohm was born at Friedensthal, Germany, on February 20, 1798. Of Quaker parentage and well educated, while still a youth he traveled through many parts of Germany as interpreter for various Quaker ministers from abroad. In 1814 he went to England, where he was recorded as a minister by Brighouse Monthly Meeting. Ten years later he began his religious travels in the ministry which in time took him to all parts of England, Ireland, and Scotland, and finally to America. At the age of seventy-three years he died in England, on June 2, 1871. See *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, pp. 1-108.

² Robert Lindsey was born at Gildersome in Yorkshire, England, in 1801. Educated for the medical profession, he turned from that calling and at the age of twenty-four entered business for himself at Brighouse, Yorkshire, as a draper. In business, however, he did not prove successful; but from estates inherited by his wife, Sarah Crosland, he was enabled to take up the, to him, more agreeable work of traveling in the ministry. Before his death in 1863 he, accompanied part of the time by his wife Sarah, journeyed to all parts of Great Britain, twice to America, and to Australia and New Zealand. See *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey*, by their daughter, pp. 1-10, 186-189.

³ Among the Friends, ministers traveling beyond the limits of their own Quarterly Meetings were required to have written statements or "minutes" from their own Monthly Meeting signifying the fact of their recognized position in the Society and that they were properly liberated for religious service.

“frank disregard of [all] outward and visible signs”,⁴ traveled far and wide, obedient only to what he believed to be the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But with the gradual disappearance of the old-time Quaker in America and especially in the West this ministerial characteristic has likewise all but disappeared.⁵ It is therefore interesting to examine the private journals of two such men and to see Iowa as they saw it in 1850.

Benjamin Seebohm and Robert Lindsey bade farewell to relatives and friends in England on the 19th day of October, 1846, and turned their faces toward America, little knowing when they might return. After a voyage of almost three weeks, on the 7th of November⁶ their vessel, the “Britannia”, bore Seebohm and Lindsey into the port of Boston, where in 1656 the first Quakers had landed on American shores.⁷ From Boston they continued their journey to New York City, and thence to Philadelphia, where at once they came into contact with the Wilburite schism then destroying the unity of the Society of Friends in America.⁸ With Philadelphia as a central point these two visiting ministers now traveled far and wide throughout the entire field of American Quakerism. During the first three years of their stay they journeyed to and fro in the Yearly Meetings of

To go beyond the Yearly Meeting such a certificate was required from the Quarterly Meeting concerned; and to go beyond seas, the consent of the Yearly Meeting to which the party belonged must have first been obtained. This practice is still generally in vogue.

⁴ Stephen's *Quaker Strongholds*, p. 111.

⁵ John Y. Hoover's *Life Sketches or Jesus Only*, an account of his own religious labors, is an excellent portrayal of the life of a traveling Quaker minister in the western country.

⁶ *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, pp. 174, 175.

⁷ The first Quakers known to have landed in America were Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, who entered Boston harbor on July 11, 1656. See Jones's *The Quakers in the American Colonies*, p. 4.

⁸ Hodgson's *The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. II, pp. 113-117.

Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, New England, Ohio, Indiana, and North Carolina, as well as to the scattered Quaker settlements in Kentucky and Tennessee and to East and West Canada, covering in all no less than eighteen thousand miles.⁹

On the 11th day of December, 1849, Seebohm and Lindsey were in attendance upon the "select meeting"¹⁰ at Raisin Valley, near Adrian, Michigan, and by the first of January they were on their way to visit their brethren in the faith beyond the Mississippi in Iowa.¹¹ Their course now lay over the frozen plains of southern Michigan and northern Indiana and Illinois to Chicago. Along the way for the first time they saw the American Indians; and far out over the open prairie they watched a prairie fire, one of the most awe-inspiring scenes of the far western wilds.¹² From Chicago their way led them some two hundred and sixty miles to the southward where they planned on entering Iowa. The story of their travels within this State may best be gained from the portion of the journal of Robert Lindsey which follows.

LOUIS T. JONES

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA
IOWA CITY IOWA

JOURNAL OF ROBERT LINDSEY

Seventh day, 19th.—We reached the Mississippi River this morning about 11 o'clock, and on enquiry it appeared as if it might be safe to cross over the ice. Tho' there had been some accidents very recently from parties attempting it: one of a very serious character 40 miles down the river,

⁹ *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, pp. 180-298.

¹⁰ Meetings for church business among the Friends were kept "select", only members of the Society being allowed to attend.

¹¹ *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, pp. 299, 301.

¹² *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, p. 305.

when a carriage containing 6 individuals broke through, instantly disappeared under the ice, and 4 of them perished. In order to lighten our carriage we got out & walked over, whilst the ferryman drove our horses across on the ice, and I am thankful to say we all reached the other side in safety. The river here is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide, and on its western bank is situated the town of Burlington, a busy and thriving place, where we stopped to dine at one of the best hotels we have seen in the Western States, and afterwards went on towards Salem, and about 7 in the evening reached the house of our friend Joseph D. Hoag¹³ of East Grove, 5 miles from Salem. Thus after a journey of 13 days, and travelling nearly 400 miles in which distance we had not fallen in with a single member of our Society, or any in profession with us, we were favoured once more to get amongst Friends, & to reach the distant State of Iowa, which I think may be very properly called "the far West", being, I suppose, not much short of 1400 miles from the seaboard. We understand it is only about 12 years since the first members of our Society came into this State,¹⁴ and now there are 12 settled meetings for worship, 3 Monthly, & 1 Quarterly Meeting, containing upwards of 2000 individuals, and these numbers rapidly increasing by emigration from the other States.

1st day. 1st mo. 20th 1850.— This morning accompanied by our friend Joseph D. Hoag attended meeting at Salem. A considerable number of Friends belong to this meeting,

¹³ Joseph D. Hoag came to Lee County from New Hampshire in the early forties. Like his father, Joseph Hoag, he was a Quaker preacher of great power. He had much to do with early Quakerism in this State. See the index to the writer's volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, published by The State Historical Society of Iowa.

¹⁴ The first Quaker known to have entered Iowa came in the fall of 1835. The first Monthly Meeting of Friends established west of the Mississippi was set up at Salem, Iowa, on October 8, 1838. See the writer's volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, pp. 44, 45.

but owing to the weather, many were prevented getting out; yet it was a large meeting, and heavenly goodness was not wanting in fulfilling, in the experience of some of us who were made deeply to feel that of ourselves we "could do nothing", that "they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength, they shall mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, & not be weary: they shall walk & not faint". After meeting we dined at Peter Collin's, not far from the meeting house, and a number of friends calling in to see us after dinner, a very precious religious opportunity occurred, in which dear Benjn was enabled to hand forth the word of encouragement to the Lord's visited children to be faithful in following on to know the Lord in all the ways of his requirings. In the evening we returned home with our friend Josh. D. Hoag to his house at East Grove. We hoped to have found letters here waiting for us, but have been disappointed, none having yet reached here. Tho' it is likely they have been 3 weeks on their way from New York; but the mails in this Western country are very uncertain, so that we must endeavour to exercise patience, a needful virtue, but one of which I sometimes think I have a very small share.

Second day 21st.—In looking towards visiting the meetings of Friends in this State, it seems as if it would be needful to have some one with us who is acquainted with the roads, and the situation of the Meetings.¹⁵ The roads in many places being difficult, and several rivers and streams to cross which are sometimes dangerous, and our friend Joseph D. Hoag having kindly consented to accompany us as soon as he can make arrangements for leaving home,

¹⁵ In June, 1850, after Benjamin Seeborn and Robert Lindsey had journeyed in Iowa, the "Meeting for Sufferings" of Indiana Yearly Meeting published a little book entitled *Statement of Indiana Yearly Meeting and all the Meetings Thereunto Belonging*, which gave the location and the days of holding of all the Friends' meetings in Iowa.

which may probably be on 4th day morning, we are taking a day of rest at his house, which is very acceptable after our late long & wearisome journey from Michigan to this State. The weather today is very cold, with a high wind from the south west, and a sharp frost, so that it seems no easy matter to keep comfortably warm.

Third day 22nd.— This morning the thermometer was at 12 above zero, with a clear pleasant sky. A second day of rest at our friend Joseph D. Hoag's, which was spent in writing, reading, walking out for exercise, and in social conversation with our dear friends: and not altogether unprofitably I hope, a comfortable quiet feeling being mercifully vouchsafed, that we were here at this time, not in our own wills, but in the counsel of Him who doeth all things well and wisely: and when this evidence is felt, how are hard things made easy, and bitter things sweet, and renewed capacity is witnessed in all things to give God thanks. This evening I had the comfort of receiving a letter from my dear Wife up to the date of 13th of last mo. giving satisfactory accounts of the welfare of my dear family: fresh cause for thankfulness to our Father in Heaven.

Fourth day. 1st mo. 23rd 1850.— This morning we left East Grove accompanied by our friend Joseph D. Hoag as our guide, and our friend Amos Hoag for driver, intending to visit a settlement of Friends 60 or 80 miles north of Salem, where a meeting has very recently been established by the name of Oakley meeting,¹⁶ a branch of Salem Monthly Meeting. The weather was very pleasant, and a few miles on our way we crossed the Skunk River on the ice, and forded a branch of it where the ice was broken up, reaching

¹⁶ This meeting in Cedar County, later known as Red Cedar and now called Springdale, was in 1850 an "indulged meeting" going under the name of Oakley. See *Statement of Indiana Yearly Meeting and all the Meetings Thereunto Belonging*, 1858, p. 59.

the village of Mount Pleasant in good dinner time. After leaving here we pretty soon entered upon a prairie, nearly 20 miles over without a single house or inhabitant upon it. About sunset we had got more than half way across when we came to a creek 3 or 4 ft. deep & probably 20 yds. wide. The ice on which was partly thawed so as not to bear the weight of our horses, & yet so strong that we could not break our way through it, so that we were under the necessity of going back to the last house we had passed, which was at least 10 miles distant, & ask for a night's lodging. We reached it about 8 o'clock, but the owner of it said he could not accommodate us; but directed us to another house 2 or 3 miles further: A second time we were dis-appointed; but on our third application we succeeded in getting a shelter for ourselves & our horses. Benjn. & myself were privileged with a bed; but our friends who were with us had to lie on the floor covered with their buffalo robes. Although it was but a mean place, & the man charged us a dollar & a half for our accommodation, without furnishing us with anything more than some food for our horses, we had cause to be thankful for it, as the night proved very stormy & wet.

5th day 24th.—This morning we were stirring pretty early, having 9 miles to go before we should meet with a place to get breakfast. The roads were muddy, & the waters in the small streams considerably risen. Soon after 10 o'clock we reached a house where we got a comfortable breakfast, which we much enjoyed, having had little since yesterday noon, except some biscuit which we had with us. Soon after dusk we reached a house 19 miles further on our way where we expected to lodge; but were obliged to go on 5 miles beyond to a small tavern where we got entertainment; but of a very ordinary kind.

Sixth day 25th.—Left our lodging place early, & had a pleasant morning's ride of 13 miles to Iowa City, having

to cross the Iowa River on the ice just before reaching the City. There had been a sharp frost through the preceding night, & the roads were pretty good. The ice on the streams was not so much broken up, as it had been further south. In the afternoon we came towards the settlement of Friends at Oakley in Cedar County; but had the misfortune, when within 5 miles of the end of our journey, to break one of the axletrees of our carriage, & had to leave it in the midst of the prairie, & come on in our friend Joseph D. Hoag's 1 horse buggy, whilst he & our friend Amos Hoag, each of them rode one of our horses to the nearest Friend's house where we could lodge, which proved to be Lawrie Tatum's,¹⁷ where we were cordially received & kindly welcomed into their humble dwelling by him & his wife, an agreeable & interesting young woman, who has recently ventured out into this new country to share in the toils of her husband in providing a home on these western prairies. There are several other young couples settled around them, similarly circumstanced, having come out here within the last 4 years, & who have displayed a commendable concern in having a meeting established among them, which has been accomplished within the last few months, & is for the present held in one of their houses, until they are able to build a meeting house for the purpose.

Seventh day 26th.—Some of the Friends of the settlement went out this morning to bring in our carriage, & hope to be able to fix it up for us to proceed on our journey after being with them over tomorrow. Their usual first day morning meeting, & having a public meeting in the evening in a schoolhouse in the settlement, arrangements for which have been made, & notice given in the neighbourhood.

¹⁷ Laurie Tatum was the pioneer Quaker of Cedar County, Iowa, settling near the present site of Springdale in 1844. See the writer's volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, p. 68.

The weather cold, & a pretty sharp frost. Went to dine at Greenbury Wood's, a short distance from our quarters, where we also spent the afternoon & evening, & before we left them were favoured with a precious religious opportunity, after which we returned to our friend Lawrie Tatum's to lodge with the grateful feeling resting upon our spirits that the Lord had not yet forgotten us in our wanderings in this western land; but was still pleased at times to arise for our comfort & encouragement, & prove Himself to be a very present Helper in every time of need.

First day, 1st mo. 27th.—A fine bright winter's morning. The thermometer at 10° above zero. At 10 o'clock attended the usual first day morning meeting at Oakley held at the house of Lawrie Tatum. Nearly all their members, & some of their neighbours were present, & it was a satisfactory meeting. At 6 in the evening we had an appointed meeting in a schoolhouse 3 miles from here, which was very crowded, & the forepart of it in consequence thereof a good deal unsettled; but thro' patient waiting a precious calm was mercifully vouchsafed, & dear Benjamin was strengthened to labour among them in right authority, & the meeting concluded to good satisfaction.

Second day 28th.—This morning the thermometer was only 4° above zero, with a strong north west wind, so that it was matter of serious thought whether it would be prudent for us to endeavour to cross the prairie whilst this wind was blowing; & the cold so piercing; but about an hour after sunrise the wind somewhat abated, & we ventured to proceed, after having wrapped ourselves up as well as we could, & covered our ears to prevent their being frost-bitten, & were favoured to get on pretty comfortably to Iowa City where we stopped for dinner. Here we finished our letters to go by the steamer of the 20th of next month, & posted

them, hoping they may get on in time, as we find the mails in these parts are very uncertain. Having some repairs to get done to our carriage we could not start from here till near sunset; but the evening being fine & moonlight, we made about 10 miles, & then stopped for the night at Dennis's Tavern, where we met with pretty comfortable accommodation. Iowa City is the capital of the State, & the seat of the Legislature. It has a handsome State House, several places of worship, some good stores, & probably about 1000 inhabitants. Owing to the river Iowa upon which the town is located not being navigable, it has not improved so rapidly as some other places.

Third day 29th.—The thermometer this morning was 2° below zero, but owing to the air being very still, we did not feel the cold nearly so much as yesterday morning when the thermometer was several degrees higher. We got an early start, & had a pleasant drive of upwards of 20 miles to Marengo, the county town of Iowa county, & seat of justice, containing 8 houses & a log Court House. A poor place where we could not get even a feed of corn for our horses; but were obliged to go on to the next farmhouse, where we stopped for dinner. In travelling along this morning I was made thankful in feeling something of the comforting presence of Him whose tender compassion is over all his works, & humbly to rejoice in the belief that He was not unmindful of us, unworthy as we are: and oh! saith my soul, that He may continue to watch over us, & to preserve us from evil for His mercy's sake. In the afternoon we came on, & about 7 in the evening reached Talbots Tavern, where we took up our quarters for the night, having made 44 miles in the course of the day. The country we have passed over for the last 2 days is mostly rolling prairie, with scattered timber of a small growth, tho' there are also some groves of small extent, & trees of a good size. This is a very newly

settled part of the State, & the houses of the settlers, or cabins, as they may more properly be called, are few & far between.

Fourth day 1st mo. 30th 1850.— This morning we passed over a prairie 18 miles across. No house in the whole distance: neither tree nor shrub to be seen as far as the eye could reach. At noon we stopped at a log cabin to get something for dinner, & a little food for our horses, & before sunset reached the Hammer's Settlement, where 5 or 6 families of Friends are located, who removed up here from East Tennessee 2 or 3 yrs. ago. We took up our quarters at the widow Hammer's, whose husband was a minister in our Society, and deceased since they came out here.

Fifth day 31st.— Today the weather was very cold, the thermometer at noon being only 4° above zero, with a strong wind from the north west, so that we found it difficult to keep warm even within doors. The house of our friend with whom we lodged being far from tight, the wind had free access through many openings, both in the walls & roof. At 2 in the afternoon we had a meeting with the few friends who reside in this neighbourhood at the house of the widow Hammer, where they are in the practice of assembling together for the purpose of Divine worship every first day morning, though they have not yet any regularly established meeting. The opportunity was satisfactory & relieving, best help being mercifully near in the needful time to strengthen to discharge apprehended duty, & the feeling of peace was the unmerited reward of constrained obedience to the Lord's requiring.¹⁸

¹⁸ Of this meeting at Rachel Hammer's home Benjamin Seeborn wrote in his Journal:

“It was nearly two o'clock before Friends could be all got together, some living seven miles off. The morning was windy and very cold — the thermometer kept falling, and by noon it was about 4 deg. above zero. Eighteen up-grown persons, and about a dozen children assembled at the widow Hammer's, and we

Sixth day 2nd mo. 1st 1850.— This morning the thermometer was 10° below zero, the greatest extreme of cold that we have yet experienced, but there being very little wind, we did not feel it so sensibly as at other times. We left “Hammers Settlement” about 8 o’clock, & had a pleasant drive of 12 miles to Parkers’ Mill, where we stopped for dinner, & in the afternoon came on towards the settlement of Friends on the Three Rivers, but owing to night coming on we were not able to reach it this evening; but after crossing the Des Moines River, concluded to stay at a small village called Dudley, 5 miles from the Three Rivers. In travelling along this morning, we, for the first time, got sight of 2 or 3 prairie wolves, an animal somewhat smaller than the common wolf; but yet very destructive to the lambs & sheep of the settlers. This part of the State of Iowa is just beginning to settle. For the last 3 days, we have only seen 3 small villages, none of which contained more than 8 or 10 dwellings, & we have several times travelled 8 or 10 miles without seeing a house.

Seventh day 2nd.— Soon after breakfast came on from Dudley to Middle River. The most distant & most westerly meeting of Friends on this Continent, being more than 1500 miles west from New York. We understand it is not more than 4 years since this part of the country was occupied by tribes of Indians who sold out their rights to “The United States”, & have now been located beyond the Missouri River.¹⁹ We may indeed be said to be almost arrived at the

sat round a large fire; but in a house that let in the external air, both through the roof and the sides, it was not easy to keep warm. I trust we had a pretty good meeting, and the feeling of quiet solemnity at the conclusion comforted me a little.”— *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, p. 314.

¹⁹ On October 11, 1842, the Sac and Fox Indians ceded to the United States the last of their lands in Iowa, reserving the right to occupy the same “for the term of three years from the time of signing the treaty”. A few straggling bands of the above tribes remained in Iowa after the allotted time and were removed beyond the Missouri in 1846. See Kappler’s *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 546; also, Parish’s *John Chambers*, pp. 184–186, and note 365.

bound of civilized life, about a dozen miles beyond this being the furthest village of any size settled by the whites. This afternoon at 2 o'clock had an appointed meeting with the Friends of Middle River, which was held to good satisfaction, after which we returned to our friend John Pearsons to lodge. Today the weather was very cold with a sharp piercing wind which was very trying in passing to & from meeting over the open prairie.

First day, 2nd mo. 3rd 1850.— Last night the weather was very cold, & our lodging room being somewhat open it was not easy to keep warm, although we had the fire kept up all night. This morning the thermometer was 20° below zero, so that whilst putting on my clothes, although within a few feet of a large wood fire, my fingers were so benumbed with the cold that I could not finish dressing without having frequent recourse to the fire to restore feeling. After breakfast we left our friend John Pearsons, & came on 8 miles to the Lower River, where a considerable number of Friends are recently located, & had a meeting with them in a school house. The opportunity was a favoured one, & renewed ability was mercifully afforded to be found faithful in the little, & peace of mind was vouchsafed as the unmerited reward in the retrospect. Benjn had good service amongst them, but the weather was so excessively cold, & the house so open that it was trying to us to sit the meeting. We went to dine & lodge at Joseph Carey's, & were hospitably entertained in his cabin, which he had only put up a few weeks ago, having very recently removed here from Indiana.

Second day 4th.— At the house where we lodged last night, & which was only a single room about 18 ft. by 16 ft. 12 individuals were accommodated; our company, consisting of 4 men, were privileged to occupy the 2 beds: & the family consisting of the friend, his wife & 5 children, & a young man who was also there, were arranged on the floor,

& on a trundle bedstead which was drawn out from beneath one of the other beds. There was a good fire most of the night, & the openings between the logs of which the building was composed, being well plastered up with mud, we were more warm and comfortable than we had been for several nights past: & I may say that under this humble roof we were treated with genuine hospitality & I do not remember to have felt myself more at home for a long time. We left Lower River this morning on our way towards Pleasant Plains in company with a number of Friends from that neighbourhood who had been up here as a committee to visit Friends here on their application to have a Preparative Meeting established amongst them. Soon after we started we came to the Lower River, which we had to cross on the ice, but the banks being steep & slippery, we were obliged to loose the horses from the carriages, & let them down by ropes, whilst the horses had to be led across. It was a novel scene to see a number of men engaged in this way in the midst of a western forest, but it was safely & quickly done, & we were soon on our way again, & had a pleasant drive of 5 hours, which brought us to the banks of the Desmoines, a large navigable river, emptying into the Mississippi, which we passed on the ice, & I stopped at a village called Red Rock for the night soon after crossing the river. The thermometer at sunrise this morning was 10° below zero, but as there has been very little wind thro' the day, we have not felt this degree of cold to be very unpleasant.

Third day 5th.—Twelve miles on our way after leaving Red Rock, we came to Pella, a pretty considerable village situated in the midst of a fine rolling prairie, where we stopped to dine. This place was settled by a body of Dutch who removed to this country 2 years ago, on account of some restrictions they were under in regard to their religion. They have purchased a large tract of land, & are

rapidly progressing in improvements. Their houses & out-buildings are much superior to those of the other settlers, & give evidence that they have brought with them the industry & management of their mother country. Their numbers, we understand, are increasing every year by fresh immigrations from Holland. At present there may probably be about 1500 in the settlement, which includes a district of several square miles.²⁰ In the afternoon we came on to Spring Creek where a meeting of Friends is settled, which we expect to be at tomorrow. Took up our quarters at Thomas Staffords', where we met with more comfortable accommodation than we have fallen in with since coming among the Friends in this State. About 3 miles before we reached here we passed thro' the thriving village of Oskaloosa, the largest place we have seen for 10 days past. It may probably contain 500 inhabitants.

Fourth day 2nd mo 6th 1850.— Attended the usual week day meeting at Spring Creek, at the close of which was held

²⁰ Of this visit at Pella, Seeböhm wrote thus:

"Opposite the tavern at which we stopped was a 'store,' kept by a German, from Osabruck. I soon made his acquaintance [Seeböhm spoke German fluently], and found him an interesting and intelligent young man. Wishing to obtain a little information respecting this interesting settlement, he readily accompanied me to H. P. Scholte, the minister and chief agent in its formation. We found him in his study, and met with a cordial reception. He is a man of learning and property, living in a large good house. It appears that he and a number of others separated from the National Church, as protestants against rationalism, neology, and the prevailing infidelity, and being persecuted—Scholte himself was imprisoned—they finally concluded to leave the country. They bought a large tract of land on the ridge between the Desmoines and Skunk Rivers,—two townships, or seventy-two square miles,—and founded the little town of Pella, adopting that name on account of its historical interest, and are now fast improving the country all round. Their congregation consists of about one thousand two hundred individuals, and more are coming. Though they united to make the first purchase out of a common fund, it does not appear that they have any community of goods established among them, but the respective families are independent freeholders after they have fixed upon a particular location. The site of the town and the whole settlement is well chosen."—*Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seeböhm*, p. 318. See also Van der Zee's *The Hollanders of Iowa*, Chs. VIII–XI.

their Preparative Meeting, when men & women Friends transacted their business at the same time, & in the same apartment, having no division in the house. But as Friends here are increasing it is to be hoped they will be able to obviate this inconvenience by an addition to their present meeting house, or by building a larger one. There is quite an interesting & hopeful body of Friends belonging to this meeting, & we were favoured with an open & satisfactory time amongst them. The weather today was warm & spring like: a great change within the last 48 hours. After meeting we returned to our quarters to dine & lodge.

Fifth day. 7th.—Left Spring Creek early this morning, & reached Waugh's Tavern before noon where we stopped for dinner. In the afternoon went forward to Richland 20 miles, where we arrived about dusk, & found a hospitable welcome under the humble roof of our worthy friend Daniel Wilson, a valuable elder in our Society. The district of country thro' which we passed today was more settled than the western & northern parts where we have travelled within the last fortnight, & according to present appearances will, before long, be pretty thickly populated. We understand that no less than 50,000 emigrants crossed the Mississippi into this State in the past year.²¹ This morning we have frost with a slight sprinkling of snow, but very moderate compared with the weather we had a few days ago.

Sixth day 8th.—Came on from Richland to Pleasant Plains, 9 miles, & at 2 o'clock in the afternoon attended the Select Preparative Meeting there. It was small, being composed of but 5 individuals besides ourselves; but to my weak faith & patience it was a season of close trial, believing it to be required to hand forth a word of encouragement to this little flock, whilst my own soul was almost ready to faint for

²¹ The population of Iowa in 1849 was 154,573; in 1850 it had risen to 192,214, an increase of 37,641. See Hull's *Census of Iowa for 1880*, p. 198.

a morsel of bread, & my mind was afterwards brought into sore conflict fearing lest I had given that unto others which was designed for my own strength; but in the evening a very precious sense of my Heavenly Father's love was mercifully vouchsafed, & my tossed soul was comforted, & enabled once more to cast my burden upon the Lord & still to trust in Him, the rock of my strength. After meeting, went to Addison Johnson's to lodge, a short distance from the meeting house, where we found comfortable quarters for ourselves & our horses. The day was fine, & the weather moderate for the season.

Seventh day, 2nd mo. 9th 1850.— Attended Monthly Meeting at Pleasant Plains. A large & interesting meeting, many more Friends being present than could find seats. But it was satisfactory to learn that they are intending to build a larger house to accommodate their increasing numbers. The business was conducted in a solid & weighty manner, there appearing to be amongst them a number of well concerned Friends who are endeavouring in faithfulness & in simplicity to uphold our religious testimonies in this far western land. May their hands be strengthened by the arms of the mighty God of Jacob. The meeting did not conclude until 4 o'clock, when we returned to our friend Addison Johnson's to dine & to lodge.

First day 10th.— This morning we have a slight covering of snow on the ground with the thermometer only 2° above zero. Left Pleasant Plains for Richland about 9 o'clock, & had a cold drive there. Benjn. who had been complaining for some days was quite sick on the road, so as to render the prospect of attending the meeting at Richland discouraging. But feeling rather better before meeting time, he ventured to go, & was, thro' best Help strengthened to labour in the Gospel, to the comfort & edification I trust of many who

were there assembled. The meeting was large, the house being filled to overflowing. We dined at Samuel Woodward's not far from the meeting house, & in the evening had an appointed meeting at Rocky Run, 4 miles from Richland, in a neat log meeting house, which has been recently put up by a few Friends who reside in that neighbourhood, & where a meeting was established about a year ago. Dear Benjn. altho' still far from well, was again enabled to stand forth largely in the exercise of his gift so as to raise in some of our hearts the acknowledgment that it was the Lord's doing, & marvellous in our eyes. Peaceful feelings were also mercifully vouchsafed as my portion in the retrospect of the share I had been enabled to take in the labours of the day, altho' it had been nothing more than comparable to the widow's mite, which she out of her penury, was made willing to cast into the treasury of the Lord in ancient days. After meeting we went to lodge at our friend John Howard's.

Second day 11th.—Left Rocky Run pretty early this morning, & reached the village of Fairfield to dinner, where I finished & posted a letter to my dear Wife to go by the steamer of the 6th of next month from Boston. In the afternoon we came on towards Salem where we arrived about 7 in the evening, & found a cordial reception & comfortable quarters at our friend Peter Collins, & had the pleasure of finding letters waiting for us from our dear connections in England.²² Mine was from my dear Wife up to the date of 12th mo. 27th giving satisfactory accounts of

²² Among the letters received by Benjamin Seebohm at this time was one bringing the news of the compulsory sale of his home, "Horton Grange", due to the financial depression in England following the French Revolution of 1848. Writing from Salem on February 12, 1850, to his courageous wife on the subject he said:

"I have been reading over and over again my letters, and very tender feelings are excited by their various contents. That which perhaps is the most important, though not the least trying to notice, is the allusion to Horton

the welfare of my dear family: a renewed cause of thankfulness to our Father who is in Heaven, who has indeed proved himself to be a Husband to the widow & a Father to the fatherless to those near & dear to me in a far distant land, from whom, in his ordering, I trust, I have now been so long separated.

Third day 12th.—At 11 o'clock this morning attended the Select Preparative Meeting at Salem: small, yet a season of encouragement to the rightly exercised, & to those whose hands are often ready to hang down. I trust the faith of these was a little strengthened still to trust in the Lord, & to stay themselves upon their God. After meeting returned to our comfortable quarters at Peter Collins, & much enjoyed the quiet & convenience of a small bedroom with a fire in it which we were privileged to occupy to ourselves: which we felt to be quite a treat after the rough fare & scanty accommodations we have had for the last 3 weeks. The weather today is quite fine, altho' sharp and cold.

Fourth day, 2nd mo. 13th 1850.—Attended Salem Monthly Mtg. A large gathering of Friends. It was long & interesting, not concluding until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock. There was a great variety of business before the meeting, & it was entered upon, & disposed of in a weighty manner. Certificates of removal were read & accepted from 4 individuals amongst which was one for Walter Crew & his wife & 14 children from Cedar Creek in Virginia, whence they removed a few months ago, having travelled the whole distance of 1500 miles in 2 waggons, & been upwards of 2

Grange. . . . Situated as we are, I have no right to consult my inclinations, and do not wish to do so; and ignorant as I am of many particulars I am unable to form a satisfactory judgment. . . . Under my present circumstances, precluded as I am from acting myself to any good purpose, I feel that it is my duty to give my dear friends full power to act as their judgment on the spot dictates''.—*Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seebohm*, pp. 48, 321, 322.

months on the road; but were all favoured to reach their destination in safety & in tolerable health. Benj. had good service in both meetings, & I was favoured with peace in the feeble endeavour to be found faithful in the little.

Fifth day. 14th.—Were at East Grove Monthly Meeting, one that has recently set off from Salem, this being but the third time of its being held. They are not yet provided with a suitable meeting place, & men & women Friends had to transact their business in the same room, with only a waggon cover hung up between them, which was very inconvenient:²³ neverth[e]less it was an interesting and satisfactory time, & the belief was raised in our hearts that if they keep their right places, there are those amongst them who will be prepared rightly to uphold the standard of truth in this part of the Lord's heritage. After meeting we dined at Josiah Tatum's, a son of our worthy friend Josiah Tatum of Philadelphia, & whose wife is the daughter of the late Thomas Albright formerly of Lancaster in England, who removed to this country a few years ago, & is since deceased. In the evening we returned to Salem, & were permitted to close the day under the solemn feeling of peaceful quiet which as a canopy was permitted to cover some of our minds during a precious opportunity with which we were favoured at our quarters before retiring to rest.

Sixth day 15th.—At 11 o'clock this morning attended Salem Select Quarterly Meeting, which I thought was a solid, favoured season, tho' we had very little vocal ministry. Silent exercise before the Lord was my lot; but I was made reverently thankful in feeling access granted in

²³ Almost from the founding of the Society, it had been the custom among the Friends for the men and women members to transact the business of the church separately, the meeting houses being provided with a sliding partition in the middle of the building called the "shutters" which served to segregate the two sexes when the time for the transaction of business arrived. See the writer's volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, pp. 258, 259.

spirit to the footstool of the Holy Throne, where I was permitted to pour out my petitions in the name of Jesus for that mercy which I feel I greatly need, being made deeply sensible that I have nothing else to trust to but the free & unmerited mercy of God in Christ Jesus, my Saviour & Advocate with the Father. And very earnest also were my cries to the Lord that he would be pleased to grant the blessing of preservation from the many snares of an unwearied adversary, & that the thread of my natural life might sooner be cut than that I should live to bring any reproach upon His precious cause of Truth & righteousness for the professed purpose of promoting which I have been induced to leave all that is nearest & dearest to me upon earth, to take as it were my life in my hand, to cross the mighty deep, & be as a stranger & a pilgrim in this far western land. And oh that He would be pleased to keep me in the littleness & simplicity of a child, that I may never lose the freshness & dew of my youth, when the bud on my branches was tender, & the first fruits of all my increase was holiness to the Lord. For Jesus Christ's sake, my Lord & Saviour, grant this, I beseech thee, Almighty Father, for unless thou help me, vain is the help of man. Amen. In the afternoon attended the funeral of a woman Friend who only died the same morning. So speedily do they inter after death in this country. A meeting was held in the meeting house on the occasion which was largely attended, & proved a solemn opportunity. In the evening was present at the Quarterly Meetings Committee on Education, & found satisfaction in throwing in my mite to encourage my dear Friends in these parts in doing their best in promoting so good a work as the guarded & religious education of their offspring. The day was fine & moderate.

Seventh day, 2nd mo. 16th 1850.— At the Quarterly Meeting at Salem, a large, crowded, & deeply exercising meet-

ing; yet thro' Best Help it was got thro', so as to leave a peaceful quiet for which favour I desire to be thankful, feeling that I am indeed a poor weak creature, trembling & tottering at every step, that it is Almighty Grace alone that can keep me from falling. Benjn. had large & good service in both meetings. In the evening we were present at a meeting of Friends "Auxiliary Bible Society", which they have had in operation amongst them for 3 or 4 years. Also an "Association" for supplying themselves with Friends books, both which appear to have been very useful in supplying their wants in these respects, & it was truly gratifying to find the concern had taken such hold on the minds of Friends here as it appears to have done. My mind this evening has felt in a tried state from causes only fully known to the Great Searcher of hearts, & my own soul: & oh! the need I have to ask of my Heavenly Father that he would be pleased for His mercy's sake, to grant an increase of faith & patience that I may be strengthened rightly to bear all those things which He shall see meet, either to permit or to appoint as that food which is most convenient for me. Oh, that I may be enabled thro' all to adopt the language "Not my will, Oh, Father, but thine be done." There have been seasons of late when I have been almost ready to throw away my shield, as tho' it had never been anointed with oil; but a secret hope has sustained underneath that the Lord had not brought me out, as it were, to die in the wilderness; but would yet give me again to see my native land, & restore me to my family & friends in peace. So be it, saith my soul.

First day 17th.—The public meeting for worship at Salem this morning was very large, the house being filled to overflowing: yet were we mercifully favoured with something of the calming & solemnizing influence of His Divine Presence, who hath promised to be with his followers even

to the end of the world, & strength was graciously afforded to endeavour to be found faithful to His requirings, so that the grateful acknowledgment was again raised in my heart "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us."

Second day 18th.—Had an appointed meeting at 11 o'clock at Cedar Creek, 4 miles from Salem, which was well attended, & proved a relieving opportunity. A large body of Friends belong to this meeting, & they have lately built themselves a good frame meeting house; but have not yet got it finished. Most of the seats are nothing more than rough boards supported at each end by blocks of wood. Indeed this is the way in which all the meeting houses in this State that we have yet seen are fitted up; tho' it is the expectation of the Friends belonging to the several meetings to substitute forms for them when they are able to do it. But considering that nearly all who come out here were in limited circumstances, having probably only just sufficient to purchase their quarter section of land, it is wonderful how they have contrived to do as much as they have in the short time they have been here. After meeting we dined at Stephen Hackett's, a valuable elder, & in the evening returned to Salem to lodge.

Third day 19th.—This morning were at an appointed meeting at Chestnut Hill, 4 miles south of Salem. A meeting has been established here about a year, & they have erected a meeting house, but not furnished it yet so as they can sit in it pretty comfortably. They appear to be an interesting company of Friends, most of them young & middle aged, & we were favoured with a satisfactory opportunity amongst them. We dined at Joel W. Hiatt's near the meeting house in company with a number of other Friends, & in the afternoon returned to Salem with our kind host, Peter Collins who had accompanied us.

4th day 2nd mo. 20th 1850.—After breakfast & a solid parting opportunity we took leave of our kind host & his family, with whom we had found a comfortable home for upwards of a week past, & left Salem which has been the scene of our labours for the last 6 or 8 days & went on to New Garden, where we had an appointed meeting at 11 o'clock. The house, which was small, was very much crowded, some being unable to get in at all; but we were mercifully favoured with a sense of the overshadowing Wing of Ancient Goodness to the comforting of the sincere hearted, & I trust also to the stirring up of the lukewarm & indifferent to greater diligence in the pursuit of those things which belong to their present & everlasting peace. After meeting we dined at Francis Sheldon's, & then went home with our friend Joseph D. Hoag of East Grove, where we lodged.

Fifth day 21st.—This morning pretty early we left our friend Joseph D. Hoag's & came on to Burlington 25 miles, where we stopped for dinner, & in the afternoon got across the Mississippi on a horse ferry boat. The ice having broken up the previous day, considerable quantities were still floating down the River; but after some little delay we were favoured to land safely on the other side. Before sunset we stopped for the night at a decent tavern 5 miles from the river where we met with comfortable accommodation for ourselves & our horses. Having completed our visit to Friends in Iowa we are now set out towards a settlement of Friends on the east side of the State of Illinois, belonging to the Western Quarterly Meeting of Indiana.²⁴ The distance, I suppose, is something about 300 miles, which

²⁴ From Iowa, Seeböhm and Lindsey again returned to the east and continued their religious labors for over a year among the many Friends' meetings in Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, and New England. Before they embarked for England from Boston on July 9, 1851, they had totaled in the American journeyings during these four and a half years about 32,400 miles. See *Private Memoirs of B. and E. Seeböhm*, pp. 332, 341.

will probably occupy us 9 or 10 days. Thus are we truly like strangers & pilgrims on the earth, having no certain dwelling place. But I humbly trust the evidence is not wanting, that, unworthy as we are, we are not moving about in this way in our own wills; but in the counsel of Him who alone can direct our feet in that path which is well pleasing in His holy sight. The comforting presence of our blessed Lord & Master has been mercifully vouchsafed at seasons to the strengthening of our faith in His precious promises which we have been permitted to know are not yea & nay, but yea & amen for ever in Christ Jesus to them that fear Him, & endeavour faithfully to follow Him, tho' it may be with trembling & faltering steps. Now that we have left Iowa, I may say that we have felt much & deeply interested about the dear Friends who are settled there, to many of whom we have felt nearly united in the bonds of Christian fellowship. There are many precious visited minds amongst them in the younger & middle stages of life, & but few fathers & mothers in the church. Yet, I believe the Divine Hand has been laid upon not a few within their borders in order to prepare them for conspicuous stations in His church. Oh! saith my soul that they may be enabled rightly to submit thereto, so that all the Lord's gracious purposes may be fulfilled respecting His heritage in these remote parts of His earth.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Beyond the Old Frontier. By GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1913. Pp. viii, 374. Plates, maps. Mr. Grinnell's field herein explored is the region west of the Mississippi River and the time covered is that between the years 1809 and 1865. "The . . . book deals with a number of cognate subjects, with exploration, hunting, the taking of fur, and Indians in peace and war; and in any or all of these there is excitement enough".

But little new material seems to be present in the first two chapters: "An Early Fur Trader" and "Fur Hunters of the Far West". These accounts have been amply set forth by Bancroft, Chittenden, and others. More welcome and fresher is the matter contained in the accounts of "When Beaver Skins were Money", "George Frederick Ruxton, Hunter", and "The Council at Fort Benton". The sketch of Bent's Fort easily holds the reader's attention and interest.

A map shows the route of Captain John Palliser's expedition up the Missouri River from St. Louis to Fort Benton in 1857-1859. Palliser's book on this government exploration is now rather rare and Mr. Grinnell has done a service in condensing from it a readable sketch. Visits to Fort Vermilion, Fort Pierre, and Fort Union are recorded and hunting adventures and Indian scenes are described.

Mr. Grinnell's subject deserves a better style than he has given it. Quotations and extracts are too long and one misses the fine prose of Irving's books on western life and the clear detailed narrative of Chittenden. A good bibliography would have been welcome and the index will be found to be of little use. The volume should, however, stimulate interest, reading, study, and writings in the history of these scenes and adventures in the far West. That, rather than a contribution of knowledge, seems to be the value of *Beyond the Old Frontier*.

The Westward Movement (Century Readings in United States History). Edited by CHARLES L. BARSTOW. New York: The Century Co. 1913. Pp. 231. Portraits, plates, maps. A number of articles from the files of *The Century* and the *St. Nicholas* magazines make up the contents of this very readable little volume, which is intended as a supplementary reader for pupils in the upper grammar and first year high school grades. Among the subjects covered in these various articles are the beginnings of the westward movement, the settlement of the West, the pony express, early western steamboating, George Rogers Clark, Boone's Wilderness Road, pioneer farming, the first emigrant train to California, Fremont's expeditions, Kit Carson, the discovery of gold in California, pioneer mining, the Great Northwest, and the desert. In the list of authors are the names of such well known writers as S. E. Forman, Emerson Hough, W. F. Bailey, Archer B. Hulbert, Theodore Roosevelt, and Ray S. Baker, all of whom, in varying degree, have caught and have been able to depict the romance of western American history.

Writings such as these lay no claim to being authoritative monographs; nor, on the other hand, are they fiction. But they render what, perhaps, is a greater service in that they present a picture of the westward movement that is not only truthful but vivid and full of color. Books of this kind, if prepared with sufficient care, can scarcely become too numerous.

A History of Geographical Discovery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. By EDWARD HEAWOOD. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1912. Pp. xii, 475. Portraits, plates, maps. In this splendidly illustrated and well indexed book the librarian to the Royal Geographical Society has, within reasonable compass, summarized the results of two centuries of geographical discovery. He introduces the subject by making a brief survey of man's knowledge of the globe at the end of the sixteenth century. Spanish and Portuguese navigators had taken the lead in discovery, and through such men as Columbus and Magellan had opened to men's imagination the vast resources of a big world outside of Europe. But at the beginning of the seventeenth cen-

tury loss of sea power paralyzed the energy and enterprise of the merchants of Spain and Portugal so that their places upon the ocean's highways of commerce fell to Dutch, English, French, and Russian adventurers: these nations completed "the geographical picture of the world in its broad outlines".

From the time of the heroic attempts of the Muscovy Company of English merchants and the efforts of Holland's seamen to open up the much desired routes northeastward and northwestward to China and the East Indies down to the close of the eighteenth century, Mr. Heawood traces the story of discovery in different parts of the world, not chronologically, but by epochs and periods. Of particular interest to Americans are the two chapters on the progress of exploration in North America. The author points out that while Dutch and English merchants had no rivals in the Eastern seas during the seventeenth century, in North America "all the great names that stand out as pioneers in geographical discovery during the same period are those of Frenchmen", like Champlain, La Salle, Joliet, and Marquette, who reached the vast American interior. Westward to the mountains their work was continued by the Vérendryes and, after England wrested Canada from the hands of France in 1763, by the agents of the Hudson's Bay and the Northwest companies, then rivals for the fur trade. While Alexander Mackenzie was on his epoch-making overland journey through the Canadian Rockies to the Pacific, the United States lay practically locked up behind the Allegheny Mountains, but most of its territory east of the Mississippi was brought within the ken of civilization before 1800.

Mr. Heawood makes the striking assertion that exploration was not definitely undertaken with scientific aims until about the middle of the eighteenth century: discoveries by the pioneers had been only incidental to the quest of European merchant princes for commercial advantages. Expeditions for research purposes were extensively inaugurated after the Treaty of Paris in 1763. By the year 1800, the general distribution of sea and land, and the contours of the great land masses within the habitable portion of the globe had become matters of definitely established knowledge, but the vast interior of Asia, Africa, and Australia, and the

North and South Polar regions remained as the special tasks for later explorers.

The Power of Ideals in American History. By EPHRAIM DOUGLASS ADAMS. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1913. Pp. xiii, 159. In these days when the economic or materialistic view of history is receiving so much emphasis there is need of a reminder, now and then, that national principles or ideals have played a large part in shaping the course of events. Such a reminder is to be found in the present volume, which is made up of five lectures bearing the following titles: "Nationality — A Faith", "Anti-Slavery — a Crusade", "Manifest Destiny — an Emotion", "Religion — a Service", "Democracy — a Vision". The influence of the ideals expressed in these headings is clearly set forth by the author.

Of special interest to Iowans is the lecture on "Religion — a Service" wherein is told (pp. 110-115) the story of the "Iowa Band". The author's father, Ephraim Adams, was a member of this famous group of pioneer preachers, and the author himself was born in Iowa many years before this State had ceased to be a home missionary field. He points out not only the work of the members of the "Iowa Band" in establishing churches, but their services to the cause of education, and their active participation in political affairs. "The story of the Iowa Band is exceptional," says the writer, "because of its romantic inception, and vigorous labors in stirring times. It is, however, but one illustration of the great wave of home missionary energy expended in the new Western states, and I have told the story badly if it has not been made clear that here was a new attitude and a new emphasis in religious expression."

Indian Slavery in Colonial Times Within the Present Limits of the United States. By ALMON WHEELER LAUBER, Ph. D. New York: Columbia University. 1913. Pp. 352. This large volume constitutes volume fifty-four, number three of the Columbia University *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*. The various chapters in the book deal with enslavement by the Indians themselves, enslavement by the Spanish and French, the number

of Indian slaves, the processes of enslavement, property relations, methods of employment, treatment of slaves, and the decline of Indian slavery. The chapters on enslavement by the Indians themselves and by the Spanish and French are of interest from a western standpoint, the remaining two-thirds of the book being devoted to Indian slavery in the English colonies on the Atlantic coast.

In view of the small number of Indians actually enslaved and of the fact that Indian slavery existed among the whites for only a comparatively short period of time, it would seem that the author has said about all there is to say on a subject which is not of great significance. Nevertheless, the study is well worth while and has been carried out in a thoroughly scientific and scholarly manner.

Volume eight, number one of *The Journal of American History* is called the "Perry's Victory Centennial Number". There are numerous articles on various phases of the battle on Lake Erie, illustrated by a large number of excellent cuts.

Contributions to Algonquian Grammar, by Truman Michelson, is the title of a reprint from the *American Anthropologist*.

The articles in the March number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* deal with various aspects of *Reform in the Administration of Justice*, a subject which is attracting widespread attention at the present time.

The presidential address by Westel Woodbury Willoughby on *The Individual and the State* appears in the opening pages of *The American Political Science Review* for February. Two other contributions are *The Philosophy of Labor Legislation*, by William F. Willoughby; and *Diplomatic Affairs and International Law, 1913*, by Alfred L. P. Dennis. A supplement to this number contains the proceedings of the tenth annual meeting of the American Political Science Association.

The papers read at the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the American Economic Association and published in the supplement

to the March number of *The American Economic Review* are of a decidedly practical nature. Besides the address on *The Renewed Extension of Government Control of Economic Life*, by David Kinley, president of the Association, the papers and discussions deal with such current problems as the control of public service corporations, railway rate making, rural organization, rent and American agriculture, syndicalism, and recent trust decisions and business.

The first contribution in the January number of *Americana* consists of some *Incidents in the Early History of Manhattan—New Amsterdam, or New York*, related by Josiah C. Pumpelly. Under the title *Wisconsin Would Honor her Neglected Heroes* there appear biographical sketches of four members of the Cushing family, by John Howard Brown. An article on *Early Conditions in the American Colonies*, by Joel Nelson Eno; and a continuation of Brigham H. Roberts's *History of the Mormon Church* complete the contents.

La Baie Verte et Lac Supérieur, 1665, by Benjamin Sulte; *Extracts from Lord Selkirk's Diaries in Upper and Lower Canada in the Years 1803 and 1804*, by George Bryce; *A Study of Disaffection in Upper Canada in 1812-15*, by E. A. Cruikshank; *Edward Ermatinger's York Factory Express Journal* of journeys between Fort Vancouver and Hudson Bay in 1827 and 1828, edited by C. O. Ermatinger and James White; and *Fundamental Processes in Historical Science*, by Hervey M. Bowman, are papers in volume six, third series, of the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*.

A brief discussion of *Some Current Problems in Indian Affairs*, by H. B. Peairs; several articles dealing with the situation among the Five Civilized Tribes; *An Historical Review of the Indian Situation*, by Warren K. Moorehead; and a number of papers relative to Indian tribes on the public domain in the Southwest are among the contents of the *Report of the Thirty-first Annual Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian and Other Dependent Peoples*.

WESTERN AMERICANA

The Life of Preston B. Plumb, United States Senator from Kansas from 1877 to 1891, written by William E. Connelley, is a recent biography of western interest.

Under the heading *Formerly in the University Faculty* there appear in the March number of *The Graduate Magazine of the University of Kansas* a number of notes relative to former members of the instructional staff of the University of Kansas, prepared by E. Miller.

Bulletin 53 of the Bureau of American Ethnology consists of volume two of the study of *Chippewa Music*, by Frances Densmore.

Bulletin 87 of the United States National Museum contains a profusely illustrated study of the *Culture of the Ancient Pueblos of the Upper Gila River Region, New Mexico and Arizona*, by Walter Hough.

The Oldest American Homes, by Felix J. Koch; *Fascination of Archaeology*, by Edgar Lucien Larkin; *The White Woman of Genessee*, by Grace Ellis Taft; *The Toledo Museum of Art*, by George W. Stevens; and *The Longfellow Tradition Refuted*, by John O. Viking, are articles in the October-December number of *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*.

A monograph on the *Ethnozoology of the Tewa Indians*, by Junius Henderson and John Peabody Harrington, constitutes *Bulletin 56* of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

A History of Muhlenberg County, Kentucky, written by Otto A. Rothert and published by John P. Morton and Company of Louisville, Kentucky, is a good type of county history. The story is told in a clear and interesting manner, there are footnotes containing explanatory or supplementary material, and the arrangement of material is well planned. The volume is illustrated by a large number of good cuts.

Among the papers in the *Proceedings of the First Annual Convention of the League of Minnesota Municipalities* are the follow-

ing: *The Functions of a Municipal Reference Bureau*, by G. A. Gesell; *Advantages of a Policy of State Control of Public Utilities for Minnesota*, by Charles A. Russell; *The Regulation and Control of Public Utilities in Minnesota*, by W. O. Clure; *State vs. Local Control of Public Utilities*, by George C. Mathews; and *The Wisconsin Public Utility Law—Its Operations and Results—the People's Point of View*, by T. C. Richmond.

Ainsworth and Company of Chicago are the publishers of a series of supplementary historical readers for the grades which they call *The Great Lake Series*. The four books which have thus far appeared deal with Lake Huron and the country of the Algonquins, the Mohawk Valley and Lake Ontario, Lake Erie and the story of Commodore Perry, and Lake Michigan and the French explorers. The basis of these stories, all of which are written by Edward Payson Morton, is an imaginary summer vacation trip and the history of various points of interest is narrated by a member of the party. This method will no doubt be effective in impressing upon the minds of the children the main features of local geography and history in the region covered.

There has been reprinted from *The American Historical Review* for January the *Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau on the Upper Missouri*, "*Premiere Partie*", June 7, 1794–March 26, 1795. This valuable document, in the French language, was recently found in Archives of the Indies at Seville by Mr. Roscoe R. Hill. Part two of the same journal, covering the period from May 24 to July 20, 1795, has long been known in this country, having been preserved in the Department of State at Washington, and a translation was printed two years ago in the *Missouri Historical Society Collections*. There is still a gap of two months for which the journal will perhaps sometime be discovered. Truteau, or Trudeau as the name is sometimes spelled, was sent out by a St. Louis association known as the Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri. His journal is a very important addition to the source material relative to the early exploration and Indian tribes of the Missouri River.

IOWANA

A number of events in the history of Cedar County are described in an address delivered at Rochester, Iowa, on July 4, 1913, by J. W. Reeder, which has been printed in pamphlet form.

An address on the subject of *Increasing the Efficiency of Our Schools*, by J. H. Beveridge, appears in the February number of *Midland Schools*.

L. F. Andrews is the writer of a sketch of *The First Law Graduates* which appears in the February number of *The Iowa Alumnus*.

The Library Problem and the Trustees' Responsibility, by Mrs. C. C. Loomis; and *The Public Library and the Rural School*, by Leslie I. Reed, are papers in the October-December number of the *Iowa Library Quarterly*.

The *Proceedings of Crocker's Iowa Brigade* at the fifteenth and sixteenth biennial reunions have been issued in a volume of one hundred and seventy-two pages.

An account of *Travels*, by Heman C. Smith, opens the January number of the *Journal of History* published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The remainder of the number is taken up with continuations of biographical and autobiographical material.

The Attitude of the State to Society and its Citizens is the subject of a brief paper by George Cosson which appears in the October *Bulletin of Iowa State Institutions*.

A Visit to Lexington and Concord, by G. Wellington Robley; and *Criminology and Prison Reform*, by Frederick M. Smith, are articles in the February number of *Autumn Leaves*. The latter article is continued in the March number.

The *Proceedings of the Davenport Academy of Sciences* issued in February contains two papers: *The Nazca Pottery of Ancient Peru*, by Max Uhle; and *The Davenport Collection of Nazca and Other Peruvian Pottery*, by Edward K. Putnam. Both papers are profusely illustrated.

A digest of *The Federal Income Tax* is printed in the January and February numbers of *Iowa Factories*, and in the January issue there is a brief outline of subjects which will confront *The 36th General Assembly*.

A Better System of Farm Credits, a subject of vital interest in the West, is discussed by D. P. Hogan in *The Northwestern Banker* for January. *A Digest of the Federal Reserve Act*, by F. W. Ellsworth, appears in the February number. In March G. E. Stebbins presents *A Banker's View of the Reserve Act*.

Louise Lamprey writes on *The Romance of Old Roads; How Some of the Great Highways of the World Were Developed* in the January number of *The Road-Maker*. There is also an article on *Bond Issues for Road Improvement*, by S. E. Bradt.

A Sinister Power in the World and the *Meaning of Medieval Masonry* are the titles of two unsigned articles in the January number of *The American Freemason*. In the February number, among other things, there is a discussion of *Continental Freemasonry Before A. D. 1723*, by Oliver D. Street. A continuation of the history of the *Planting of Masonry in Montana*, by Joseph E. Morcombe, appears in the March number.

The Essentials of a Good Road Law are pointed out by John E. Brindley in the December number of *The Iowa Engineer*. In the February number R. B. Dale discusses *The Decline of Navigation on the Inland Waterways of the United States*; and E. A. Sayre writes briefly on *The Coal Industry in Iowa*.

Some data favorable to the *City Manager Plan* is to be found in the January number of *American Municipalities*. Three articles in the February number are: *Public Service Regulation*, by William F. Stipe; *Public Utilities and Public Service Commissions*, by J. F. Ford; and *Iowa University Bureau of Municipal Information*, by O. E. Klingaman. *Municipal Franchises* are discussed by B. P. Holst in the March number.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Abernethy, Alonzo, (Editor.)

The Early Life of Jesus and New Light on Passion Week.

Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Co. 1914.

Alden, Cynthia May Westover,

Ways of Earning Money: A Book for Women (New edition).

New York: Sully & Kleinteich. 1913.

Athearn, Walter Scott,

The Intermediate Department of the Church School. Des

Moines: Drake University. 1913.

Ball, James Moores,

Modern Ophthalmology (Revised edition). Philadelphia: F.

A. Davis Co. 1913.

Betts, George Herbert (Joint author),

Better Rural Schools. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Co.
1914.

Bleakly, John L.,

The Banking Laws of the State of Iowa. Des Moines: Robert

Henderson. 1913.

Bowman, James Cloyd,

The Gift of White Roses. Ada, Ohio: University Herald Press.
1913.

The Knight of the Chinese Dragon. Columbus, Ohio: The
Pfeifer Press. 1913.

Brown, Charles Reynolds,

Cap and Gown: College Addresses. Boston: Pilgrim Press.
1914.

Clark, Dan Elbert,

One Hundred Topics in Iowa History. Iowa City: The State
Historical Society of Iowa. 1914.

Cleveland, William F.,

History of Grand Lodge of Iowa A. F. and A. M. Cedar
Rapids: Grand Lodge of Iowa. 1913.

Fletcher, Robert Huntington,

A Brief Shakspearean Glossary, Grammar, and Booklet of Other

- Information Necessary to Students.* Grinnell, Iowa: Published by the author. 1913.
- Tennyson and Browning: A Manual for College Classes and Other Students.* Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press. 1913.
- Garland, Hamlin,
The Forester's Daughter. New York: Harper & Bros. 1914.
- Gibbs, Jessie Wiseman,
Overtones. Boston: Sherman, French & Co. 1913.
- Goodyear, Lloyd Earnest,
Principles of Accountancy. Cedar Rapids: Goodyear-Marshall Publishing Co. 1914.
- Guthe, Karl Eugen,
Definitions in Physics. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1913.
- Heilman, Ralph E.,
The Development by Commissions of the Principle of Public Utility Valuation (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February, 1914).
- Hill, James Langdon,
The Immortal Seven. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. 1913.
- Hutchinson, Woods,
A Course of Study in Physiology and Hygiene for Elementary Schools. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1913.
- Jones, Louis T.,
The Quakers of Iowa. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1914.
- Keyes, Charles Rollin,
Annotated Bibliography of Iowa Geology and Mining (Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XXII). Des Moines: Iowa Geological Survey. 1913.
- Early Geological Work of Thomas Nuttall* (Popular Science Monthly, February, 1914).
- Manatt, James Irving,
Aegean Days. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1914.
- Morley, Margaret Warner,
Will o' the Wasps. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1914.

Murphy, Thomas D.,

On Old World Highways. Boston: The Page Company. 1914.

Page, Calvin Samuel,

The New Philosophy. Chicago: Science Publishing Co. 1913.

Parrish, Randall,

Shea of the Irish Brigade. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1914.

Ross, Edward Alsworth,

Immigrants in Politics (Century, January, 1914); *Racial Consequences of Immigration* (Century, February, 1914).

Sabin, Edwin Legrand,

On the Plains with Custer. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1913.

Kit Carson Days. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1914.

Thoms, Craig S.,

The Working Man's Christ. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1914.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Register and Leader

Hanging of the Sioux at Mankato in 1862, January 4, 1914.

Teaching of Iowa History, January 4, 1914.

The Tama Indians, January 9, 1914.

When the French Fought the Indians on the Townsite of Des Moines, January 11, 1914.

The Prospective Cities of Iowa in 1836, January 18, 1914.

The Story of an Iowa Pioneer—William E. Scott, January 18, 1914.

Hubbell Bet on Iowa, by Robert Fullerton, January 19, 1914.

Story of Cardiff Giant, January 25, 1914.

School Building Given to Clermont by Mrs. William Larrabee, January 31, 1914.

Sketch of the life of George D. Perkins, February 4, 1914.

Boyhood Days in Prairie Land, by C. C. Pugh, February 8, 1914.

Anniversary of Fort Donelson, February 15, 1914.

The Forests of Iowa, by H. C. Evans, February 22, 1914.

Interesting Stories of River Races, February 22, 1914.

Last of the Mississippi River Banditti, by O. H. Mills, March 1, 1914.

Tabor Pioneer's Tale of Aiding Slaves to Escape, by C. M. Rice, March 15, 1914.

First Child Born in Fort Des Moines, February 15, 1914.

The Burlington Hawk-eye

Chronology of Burlington Events in 1913, January 4, 1914.

Lincoln's Visits in Iowa, January 4, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Hugh R. Lyons, January 4, 1914.

Sunset of a Great Humorist — Robert J. Burdette, January 11, 1914.

The Overland Trail, Past and Present, January 18, 1914.

An Old Time Letter Telling of the Hodges Tragedy, January 25, 1914.

Seventy-Six Years Ago as Contrasted with the Present, by W. P. Elliott, February 1, 1914.

Early Days in Indiana, by W. P. Elliott, March 8, 1914.

Iowa Pioneer Incidents, March 15, 1914.

Alonzo Sargent who Carried a Gun at the Hanging of the Hodges, March 15, 1914.

Miscellaneous.

Pioneer Days in Plymouth County, running in the *Akron Register Tribune* and the *Le Mars Sentinel*, January-March, 1914.

Old Marion County, running in the *Knoxville Express*, January-March, 1914.

Memoirs of Quaker Divide, by D. B. Cook, running in the *Dexter Sentinel*, January-March, 1914.

Sketch of the life of George G. Earley, in the *Newton Record*, January 8, 1914.

History of Mitchellville, in the *Mitchellville Index*, January 8, 15, 29; February 5, 12, 1914.

The Pioneers of Des Moines, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, January 8, 1914.

Visits of Lincoln to Iowa, in the *Washington Press*, January 8, 1914.

- Early Railroad Building in Iowa, by M. L. Rogers, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, January 9, 1914.
- Memoirs of Mary L. Fobes, running in the *Dows Advocate*, January-March, 1914.
- The Spirit Lake Massacre, by Abbie Gardner Sharp, running in the *Spirit Lake Herald*, January-March, 1914.
- How Mitchell County Received its Name, in the *Osage Press*, January 14, 1914.
- Hamilton County History, in the *Webster City Journal*, January 15, 1914.
- Sketch of the life of John M. Harlow, in the *Boone News-Republican*, January 17, 1914.
- Pioneering in the Sixties, and a thrilling Ride in an Indian Dugout, in the *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, January 18, 1914.
- When the French Met the Indians in Iowa, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, January 19, 1914.
- Iowa Blizzard of 1855, in the *Iowa Falls Sentinel*, January 20, 1914.
- Sketch of the life of Carlton Corbett, in the *Cherokee Democrat*, January 20, 1914.
- Thirty Years Ago—The New Capitol, in the *Nevada Representative*, January 23, 1914.
- Stories of Early Days, by Semira A. Phillips, running in the *Oskaloosa Globe*, January-March, 1914.
- Prospective Iowa Cities in the Year 1836, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, January 25, 1914.
- Red Pioneers of O'Brien County, in the *Sheldon Mail*, January 27, 1914.
- Concerning the Son of Chief Keokuk, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, January 29, 1914.
- Marking of Historic Sites, in the *Keokuk Constitution-Democrat*, January 29, 1914.
- Pioneer Preachers of Cedar County, by Homer A. Curtis, in the *Tipton Advertiser*, January 30, 1914.
- Early Days in Mahaska, in the *Oskaloosa Globe*, January 31, 1914.
- Sketch of the life of W. W. Wormood, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, February 1, 1914.

Sketch of the life of J. M. Pinckney, in the *Sioux City News*, February 2, 1914.

Recollections of Early Days in Iowa Told by a Pioneer of Stockport, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, February 2, 1914.

Sketch of the life of George D. Perkins, in the *Sioux City Tribune*, February 3, 1914.

Sheldon in the Early Days, in the *Sheldon Mail*, February 3, 10, 17, 1914.

George Douglas Perkins, in the *Sioux City Journal*, February 4, 1914.

Webster City in the Year 1869, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, February 6, 1914.

Justice of Forty Years Ago, in the *Sioux City Journal*, February 8, 1914,

Early History of Ft. Madison Penitentiary, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, February 9, 1914.

The Town of Red Rock, in the *Monroe Mirror*, February 12, 1914.

More Indian History, in the *Sidney Herald*, February 13, 1914.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Death of Father Mazzuchelli, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, February 22, 1914.

Sketch of the life of George Boardman, Veteran Riverman, in the *Ft. Dodge Chronicle*, February 23, 1914.

The Early Days in Ringgold County, in the *Mt. Ayr Register-News*, February 24, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Millard F. Le Roy, in the *Manchester Press*, February 26, 1914.

Thomas Highly—Tipton's Oldest Citizen, in the *Tipton Advertiser*, February 27, 1914.

White Hawk, the Old Man's Creek Chief, in the *Iowa City Republican*, February 27, 1914.

Reminiscences of Prairie Schooner Days, in the *Waterloo Courier*, February 28, 1914.

Building the Missouri, Iowa & Nebraska Railway, by Jasper Blines, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post*, February 28, 1914.

Steamboating on the Upper Mississippi, by George B. Merrick, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post*, February 28, 1914.

- The Old Boats, in the *Burlington Saturday Evening Post*, February 28, 1914.
- Early Steamers on the Des Moines, in the *Keokuk Constitution-Democrat*, February, 28, 1914.
- How the Grey Eagle Raced up the River with Historic News, in the *Davenport Democrat*, March 1, 1914.
- First Railroad into Cedar Rapids, by John S. Wolf, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, March 1, 1914.
- "Uncle Si" now Only Historical, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, March 1, 1914.
- Diary of the Civil War, by Alex McDonald, running in the Sunday issues of the *Cedar Rapids Republican*.
- Sketch of the life of George Irving Long, in the *Manson Journal*, March 4, 1914.
- Sketch of the life of L. H. Weller, in the *Nashua Reporter*, March 5, 1914.
- How Mississippi River Banditti was Wiped Out, in the *Davenport Democrat*, March 8, 1914.
- History of the Cathedral, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, March 8, 1914.
- The Indian Disappearing, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, March 11, 1914.
- Early Judges and Lawyers, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, March 12, 1914.
- Early Post Offices in Boone County, in the *Pilot Mound Monitor*, March 12, 1914.
- Country School Children to be Taught Local History, in the *Cedar Rapids Gazette*, March 14, 1914.
- First Railroad to Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat*, March 15, 1914.
- The Grasshopper Scourge of 1876, in the *Waterloo Times-Tribune*, March 15, 1914.
- Pioneer Justice Practice, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, March 16, 1914.
- Sketch of the life of Edson Gaylord of Nora Springs, in the *Charles City Press*, March 19, 1914.
- Sketch of the life of James Duffield, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, March 19, 1914.

Early History of Lynnvile, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, March 21, 1914.

Governor's Greys: Military Organization that Dates Back to 1859, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, March 22, 1914.

First Kindergarten in Iowa, in the *Davenport Democrat*, March 22, 1914.

Reminiscences of the Early Days in Liberty Township, in the *Mt. Ayr Register-News*, March 24, 31, 1914.

Sketch of life of Henry Clay Caldwell, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, March 24, 1914.

More About the Early Lawyers, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, March 25, 1914.

Winter of 1846, in the *Creston Advertiser-Gazette*, March 25, 1914.

The Old Buffalo Mill, by W. S. Wilkinson, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, March 25, 1914.

Iowa's First Governor, in the *Mason City Times*, March 30, 1914.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

The September-December number of the *Records of the Past* contains a table of contents and an index of volumes one to twelve, inclusive.

A Plea for Indian Place Names is made in the January number of *Historia* published by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

In November, 1913, there appeared the first number of *El Palacio*, a monthly periodical published at Santa Fé by the Archaeological Society of New Mexico.

Bulletin No. 2 issued by the Michigan Historical Commission is devoted to *Suggestions for Local Historical Societies and Writers in Michigan*, prepared by George Newman Fuller.

The October-December, 1913, number of *The Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the annual report of the Society for the year ending December 15, 1913.

A biographical sketch of *Henry Fitzgilbert Waters, A. M.*, by James Kendall Hosmer, appears in the January number of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*.

Safeguards of American Democracy is the title of an address delivered by Charles Alexander Richmond in November, 1913, before the New York Historical Society. The address has been published in pamphlet form.

The January number of *The Washington Historical Quarterly* opens with a sketch of the life of *George Wilkes*, a reprint of whose history of Oregon has been running in the *Quarterly*. Clarence B. Bagley is the writer of the sketch. *The Present Status and Probable Future of the Indians of Puget Sound* is the subject of a brief

but interesting article by Lewis H. St. John. Thomas W. Prosch presents some biographical data relative to *The Pioneer Dead of 1913*; and there is a discussion of *American and British Treatment of the Indians in the Pacific Northwest*, by W. J. Trimble.

The installments of Isaac Joslin Cox's monograph on *The Louisiana-Texas Frontier* which appeared in the July and October, 1913, numbers of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* have been reprinted in pamphlet form.

The *Manual of the New Hampshire Historical Society, 1913*, contains the charter and by-laws of the Society, an historical account of the Society, a description of the splendid new building, and lists of officers and members.

The September-December number of the *German American Annals* is largely taken up with *The Graffenried Manuscripts*, with an introduction by Albert B. Faust. An article on *Cooper in Germany*, by Preston A. Barba, occupies the January-February number.

Volume thirty-three of the *Archives of Maryland*, published by the Maryland Historical Society, contains the *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, May, 1717-April, 1720*, edited by Clayton Colman Hall.

Among the articles in *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* for January are: *Kentucky Regulars in the War of 1812*, by A. C. Quisenberry; *Old Graham Springs*, by Miss Martha Stephenson; and *The Three Woolleys*, by George Baber.

An article on *Some Forgotten Towns in Lower South Carolina*, by Henry A. M. Smith; and a continuation of the *Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimké*, are to be found in the October, 1913, number of *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*.

Texas and the Boundary Issue, 1822-1829, is the subject discussed by William R. Manning in the January number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. James E. Winston writes on *Pennsylvania and the Independence of Texas*. The experiences of a minister in Texas in the early days, edited by William S. Red, appear

under the heading of *Allen's Reminiscences of Texas, 1838-1842*. In conclusion, there is the ninth installment of *Correspondence from the British Archives Concerning Texas, 1837-1846*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams.

Volume thirteen, number one of *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, contains two articles: *The North Carolina Colonial Bar*, by Ernest H. Alderman; and *The Granville District*, by E. Merton Coulter.

Among the continuations in the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for January are the following: *Youthful Recollections of Salem*, by Benjamin F. Browne; *A Genealogical-Historical Visitation of Andover, Mass., in the Year 1863*, by Alfred Poore; and *Northfields, Salem, in 1700*, by Sidney Perley.

Two contributions of interest in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for December are: *Taney's Correspondence with Van Buren*, by Bernard C. Steiner; and *An Historical Identification: John Wilkes Booth—What Became of Him?*, by William M. Pegram

In a *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico*, compiled by Herbert E. Bolton, and published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, there are listed a large number of documents which bear upon the history of the Spanish period in the lower Mississippi Valley.

The Value and the Sale of the Missouri Slave is the subject of an interesting article by Harrison A. Tresler which opens the January number of the *Missouri Historical Review*. Other brief contributions are: *The Old Town of Elizabeth*, by Ovid Bell; *Early Missouri Roads*, by G. C. Broadhead; and *Echoes of Indian Emigration*, by David W. Eaton.

Number fourteen of the *Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission* contains a brief article on *The North Carolina State Flag*, by W. R. Edmonds. Number fifteen is devoted to the *Proceedings and Addresses of the Fourteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina*.

Among the papers and addresses are: *A New Method of Historical Investigation*, by Herman H. Horne; *Relations Between the Confederate States Government and the Government of North Carolina*, by Walter A. Montgomery; and *Rochambeau and the French in America: Why They Came and What They Did*, by J. J. Jusserand.

Tract No. 92 published by The Western Reserve Historical Society of Cleveland, Ohio, is largely taken up with a number of letters and papers relative to *Northern Ohio During the War of 1812*, with an introduction by Elbert Jay Benton. The effect of General Hull's surrender upon the people of the West is especially well brought out in these letters.

The March number of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* contains, among other things, *The Annual Report of the Executive Council of the Presbyterian Historical Society*; an account of the annual meeting of the Society, January 8 and 15, 1914; and the fifth installment of the *History of the Presbytery of New Brunswick*, by George H. Ingram.

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* for October, 1913, opens with an article on *The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1818*, followed by the journal of the convention; Josephine E. Burns is the writer of a biographical sketch of *Daniel P. Cook*; and a list of *Soldiers of the American Revolution Buried in Illinois* is presented by Mrs. Edwin S. Walker.

Volume five, number three of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications* contains an article on *The Sultana Disaster*, by Joseph Taylor Elliott. It is estimated that over two thousand men who had just been released from southern prisons lost their lives in this steamboat explosion; but since the disaster occurred in war times it failed to make a very profound impression.

Truth in History is the title of the presidential address delivered before the last annual meeting of the American Historical Association by William A. Dunning. The address occupies the opening pages of *The American Historical Review* for January. *The Early History of Caste*, by A. A. Macdonell; *The Effects of Norman Rule*

in Ireland, 1169-1333, by Goddard H. Orpen; *Historical Investigation and the Commercial History of the Napoleonic Era*, by W. E. Lingelbach; and *Some Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy*, by Charles A. Beard, are other articles. Under the heading of *Documents* is to be found the *Journal of Jean Baptiste Truteau on the Upper Missouri*, "Premiere Partie", June 7, 1794-March 26, 1795.

Remarks on the Fletcher and Related Stones of Yarmouth, N. S., by Harry Piers; *The Militia of Nova Scotia, 1749-1867*, by Joseph P. Edwards; *Early Reminiscences of Halifax*, by Peter Lynch; and a *Statement Relative to the Introduction and History of Responsible Government in Nova Scotia*, by E. M. Saunders, are among the contributions in volume seventeen of the *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society*.

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has published a *Guide to the Materials for United States History in Canadian Archives*, prepared by David W. Parker. The student of Mississippi Valley history will find listed in this volume many documents relating to explorations, fur trade, and missionary enterprises in this region as carried on by the French and the British.

Some *Personal Reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian*, prepared and edited by Paul Radin, which appear in the October-December, 1913, number of *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*, are of interest to the students of the Indian history of Iowa since the Winnebagoes once lived in the Neutral Ground in northeastern Iowa. Other contributions pertinent to the folk-lore of the Middle West are *No-Tongue*, a *Mandan Tale*, by George F. Will; and *Traditional Ballads in Nebraska*, by Louise Pound.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* opens with a brief article on the *Rise of Medical Colleges in the Ohio Valley*, by Otto Juettner. Several manuscripts from the Draper collection describe Andrew Poe's encounter with the Indians, Bowman's campaign of 1779, and Logan's campaign of 1786. A biographical sketch of *Major George Adams*, by George A. Katz-

enberger; and some *Letters of Senator H. B. Payne of Ohio*, contributed by Duane Mowry, complete the contents. The January number is given over to descriptions of the centennial celebrations of Croghan's victory at Fort Stephenson, of the siege of Fort Mies, and of Perry's victory on Lake Erie.

The Development Under the Constitution of the President's Power, by Edward Stanwood; an installment of *Bright-Summer Letters, 1861-1872*; *The Civil War*, by John Davis Long; *The American Navy, 1775-1815*, by French Ensor Chadwick; *Sectional Feeling in 1861*, by Charles Francis Adams; and *The Indebtedness of John Marshall to Alexander Hamilton*, by William MacDonald, are among the contributions in volume forty-six of the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The June issue of *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* is a memorial number in honor of the late Harvey W. Scott, who for more than forty years was the editor of the *Portland Oregonian*. The September number opens with a *Letter by Daniel H. Lounsdale to Samuel R. Thurston, First Territorial Delegate from Oregon to Congress*, with an introduction by Clarence B. Bagley. Following this there is the *Journal of E. Willard Smith while with the Fur Traders, Vasquez and Sublette, 1839-1840*, contributed by J. Neilson Barry. Another documentary contribution consists of the second half of the *Journal of John Work's Snake Country Expedition of 1830-31*, with editorial notes by T. C. Elliott.

The opening pages of the combined July and October, 1913, numbers of the *Annals of Iowa* contain an article on *Jefferson County at the Beginning of the Civil War*, by Charles J. Fulton, which presents an excellent view of local politics and feeling in Iowa at the time indicated. The *Proposed Improvement of the Iowa State Capitol Grounds* is clearly described in a paper by Edgar R. Harlan. Over fifty pages are occupied with a reprint of Albert M. Lea's little book entitled *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, originally published in 1836. Copies of this book are very scarce, hence the reprint will make much more accessible a very important source on the early history of Iowa. Among the other articles in this number

is one on *The Case of Archie P. Webb, a Free Negro*, by Nathan E. Coffin. In the January number Alonzo Abernethy presents a useful discussion of *Early Iowa Indian Treaties and Boundaries*; Paul Walton Black writes on *Attempted Lynchings in Iowa*, and Francis E. Judd tells of the *Establishment of the Diocese of Iowa, Protestant Episcopal Church of America*.

A brief sketch of the life of *Bass Otis, America's First Lithographer*, by Joseph Jackson, appears in the opening pages of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October, 1913. *James Kenney's "Journal to Ye Westward," 1758-59*, edited by John W. Jordan, is an interesting document of the period of the French and Indian War. Among the other contributions is a *Letter of Rev. Jeremiah Belknap to Rev. Menasseh Cutler, 1785*. The January number opens with an illustrated monograph on the *Braddock Road*, by John Kennedy Lacock. Following this are *The Letters of Judge Henry Wynkoop, Representative from Pennsylvania to the First Congress of the United States*, edited, with introduction and notes, by Joseph M. Beatty, Jr.

James Albert Woodburn presents a very interesting picture of *Local Life and Color in the New Purchase* in the December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. The "New Purchase" in this case comprised the central part of Indiana. An article on *The Criminal Code of the Northwest Territory*, by David D. Banta, will appeal to a wide circle of readers. In the fourth of a series of *Sketches of Early Indiana Senators* Nina Kathleen Reid writes of the career of John Tipton, who on many occasions defended the interests of the people of Iowa on the floor of the United States Senate. Under the heading of *Flatboating on the Wabash* there is a brief diary of a river trip from Pittsburg, Indiana, to New Orleans in 1847. An article on *The Campaign of 1876 in Indiana*, by O. B. Carmichael; and an appreciation of the late *Reuben Gold Thwaites*, by James A. Woodburn, complete the contents of this excellent number of the *Magazine*.

ACTIVITIES

Over fourteen hundred titles were added to the collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society during the year 1913.

The Linn County Historical Society is making an effort to secure old documents, relics, and other articles of an historical character for preservation in its collection in the Cedar Rapids Public Library building.

At the annual meeting of the Presbyterian Historical Society on January 15, 1914, Henry Van Dyke was elected president of the Society.

Among the recent accessions of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin is a collection of books on Ireland. The Society now has in press a memorial volume in honor of the late Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites.

Mr. Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, has been giving a series of lectures on early Iowa history at the social center meetings held in the West High School building in Des Moines.

The thirty-seventh annual meeting of the Nebraska State Historical Society, the twenty-second annual meeting of the Nebraska Territorial Pioneers' Association, and the third annual meeting of the Nebraska Memorial Association were held jointly at Lincoln, January 20-22, 1914.

At the meeting of the Historical Society of Marshall County on Wednesday evening, March 18th, Mr. Edgar R. Harlan delivered an address entitled *From the Ox to the Auto*. The relics in the possession of the Society have recently been carefully catalogued.

The Madison County Historical Society held its tenth annual meeting at Winterset on March 17, 1914. *The History of Buffalo Mill*, by W. S. Wilkinson; and *The Poetry of Douglas Township*, by W. H. Lewis, were two papers read at the meeting; and Mr. Johnson Brigham, State Librarian, delivered an address on *Frontier Life in Iowa in the Forties*.

On Tuesday evening, February 17th, Mr. Horace White of New York delivered an address before the Chicago Historical Society on *The Lincoln and Douglas Debates*. Mr. White was connected with the *Chicago Tribune* from 1856 to 1874, and he was assigned the task of following Lincoln and Douglas on their tour and of furnishing the *Tribune* with accounts of the debates.

The annual meeting of the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis) was held on January 16th, and at that time an address on *Old Bal-lad Days in Western Missouri* was delivered by D. C. Allen. *The Removal of the Judges in 1865*, by Thomas K. Skinker; and *Why Missouri Did Not Secede in 1861*, by Roland G. Usher, are addresses delivered at the February and March meetings, respectively.

The Jefferson County Historical Society held a meeting at Fairfield on February 28, 1914. Plans for the marking of the site in Fairfield where the first State Fair was held were discussed, and Mr. Hiram Heaton read some recollections of William Fulke, who taught school in the county in 1854. An adjourned meeting of the Society was held on March 19th, at which time an illustrated lecture was given by Professor P. C. Hildreth of Parsons College.

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has recently issued guides to materials for United States history in the archives of Canada and Mexico, compiled by David W. Parker and Herbert E. Bolton, respectively. Among the activities now being carried on are preparations for the publication of a series of volumes containing the proceedings and debates in Parliament relative to North America, a work which will be of great value.

The first number of a new historical quarterly to be called the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* will appear in June. The new periodical will be published by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, the subscription price being two dollars to members and three dollars to non-members. Articles on various phases of Mississippi Valley history, book reviews, and notes on historical activities will make up the contents of the *Review*. Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois will be the Managing Editor.

Mr. George W. Martin, who for fourteen years has been the Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, resigned on February 16, 1914, because of ill health and advanced years. To Mr. Martin, more than to any other one man, is the Society indebted for its growth and prosperity during the past decade. He is a man of strong personality — enthusiastic, energetic, and persevering; and not only has he given his time and labor unsparingly to the cause of history in his State, but he has always been ready to do his share in promoting historical activities in the Mississippi Valley as a whole. Mr. William E. Connelly, a man whose name is well known through his numerous writings, has succeeded Mr. Martin as Secretary.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

The volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, by Dr. Louis T. Jones, has been distributed to members.

A volume of nearly three hundred pages on the *History of Township Government in Iowa*, written by Dr. Clarence R. Aurner, Research Associate in the Society, has been put to press.

Mr. C. J. Fulton of Fairfield, Iowa, a member of the Society, is engaged in writing a history of Jefferson County.

Mr. Jacob Van der Zee, Research Associate in the Society, has nearly completed a series of articles covering the history of eastern Iowa before the year 1833. These articles will appear in *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* during the coming year.

Mr. Hugh L. Cooper, a member of the Society, having completed the water power development of the Mississippi River Power Company at Keokuk, has opened offices in New York City where he will engage in the practice of general hydraulic engineering.

The Rev. John F. Kempker, a member of the Society, has been appointed Assistant in the St. Patrick's Church at Dubuque. A large part of his time will be devoted to the writing of a comprehensive history of the Catholic Church in Iowa, a task for which he is well fitted. He has been intimately connected with that

church in this State for nearly half a century, and he has already written and published many pages of Iowa history.

A new and enlarged edition of the *Iowa Program for Study Clubs* has recently been issued by The State Historical Society of Iowa under the new title of *One Hundred Topics in Iowa History*. The compiler is Dan Elbert Clark, Assistant Editor in the Society.

Mr. F. L. Vandegrift, a member of the Society, is the writer of a sketch of *Kretzinger, the School Teacher*, which appeared in the *Keokuk Gate City* of November 30, 1913. Mr. Vandegrift is the editor of a periodical known as *The Earth*, published in Chicago.

Four members of The State Historical Society of Iowa died during the past quarter, namely: Mr. C. C. Redfield of Blair, Nebraska; Mr. A. H. Wallace of Washington, Iowa; Hon. George D. Perkins of Sioux City, Iowa; and Dr. J. L. Pickard of Cupertino, California.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. L. D. Daily, Milford, Iowa; Hon. W. P. Hepburn, Washington, D. C.; Mr. Seth E. Shenton, Indianola, Iowa; Mr. John E. Briggs, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Seine B. De Pree, Sioux Center, Iowa; Mr. J. L. Myers, South Bend, Washington; Mr. Glenn N. Merry, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Franc Moon, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Bernard Murphy, Vinton, Iowa; Mr. O. K. Patton, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. Jacob Sachs, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Leigh H. Wallace, Washington, Iowa; Mr. Charles F. Wennerstrum, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. Redmond S. Cole, Pawnee, Oklahoma; Mr. H. M. Eicher, Washington, Iowa; Miss Ruth Fall, Albia, Iowa; Mr. W. W. Felkner, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. C. S. Macy, Adel, Iowa; Mr. H. H. Sturges, Charter Oak, Iowa; Mr. Arthur A. Zimmerman, Ackley, Iowa.

MEETING OF THE SOCIETY ON FEBRUARY 24, 1914

A meeting of The State Historical Society of Iowa was held in the rooms of the Society on Saturday, February 21, 1914. In the afternoon there was a Conference-Seminar on methods of his-

torical research and writing, the discussion being led by Dr. John C. Parish of Denver, Colorado, who for many years was actively connected with the work of the Society. Those who participated in the Conference-Seminar, in addition to the regular staff of the Society and members of the faculty of the State University, were: Dr. Milo M. Quaife, Superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Mr. Johnson Brigham, State Librarian of Iowa; Professor F. E. Haynes of Morningside College, Sioux City; Professors Louis B. Schmidt and John E. Brindley of the Iowa State College at Ames; and Professor Olynthus B. Clark of Drake University, Des Moines. The conference was held under the joint auspices of the Society and of the Department of History of the State University of Iowa.

In the evening Laenas Gifford Weld, formerly a Curator of the Society and now President of Pullman Institute in Chicago, delivered an entertaining and scholarly address on *Some Decisive Episodes in Western History*.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The Hamilton County Bar Association held a memorial meeting early in March in honor of the late Percival Knowles.

Citizens of Fairfield, Iowa, have asked the State Fair Association to appropriate money for the marking of the site in Fairfield where the first State Fair was held in 1854.

Mr. Charles Grilk has been elected president of the Davenport Academy of Sciences to succeed Mr. Edward K. Putnam.

Millard F. LeRoy, member of the lower house of the General Assembly of Iowa from Delaware County, died on February 21, 1914.

On March 2, 1914, occurred the death of Luman H. Weller, who from 1883 to 1885 was the Representative in Congress from the Fourth Congressional District of Iowa.

The city manager plan of municipal government has now been in successful operation for some time in Clarinda, Iowa, a city which in 1910 had a population of 3,832.

Funds have been raised for the erection of a granite boulder on the spot where the first election in Dallas County, Iowa, was held.

A memorial service was held in the town of Farley, Iowa, on January 16, 1914, in honor of the late Dr. W J McGee, who was born on a farm two miles north of that place.

The Old Trails Association is an organization with headquarters at Kansas City which has among its objects the preservation and improvement of the principal roads of pioneer days.

A special meeting of the League of Iowa Municipalities was held at Des Moines on February 11th for the purpose of considering the question of home rule for cities. Resolutions were adopted favor-

ing legislation giving to cities and towns greater powers in the management of local affairs.

The Woman Teachers' Club of Dubuque is taking a great interest in local history and has asked the people of the city to contribute to a collection of historical material relating to Dubuque and vicinity.

Hereafter the small admittance fee which has been charged by the Davenport Academy of Sciences on certain days of the week will be discarded, and the institution will be open to the public, without charge, throughout the entire week.

A petition has recently been circulated and signed by many prominent Iowa people asking Congress to take favorable action on a bill for the erection of a suitable memorial to General Nathaniel Lyon.

A movement is on foot among the Swedish people of the State to raise money for the erection of a monument on the new capitol grounds at Des Moines to John Ericsson, the designer of the federal gun-boat, the Monitor.

Philo M. Jewell of Decorah, died on January 8, 1914. Mr. Jewell was a member of the House of Representatives in the Thirty-second and Thirty-third General Assemblies of Iowa and a State Senator during the two succeeding sessions.

A movement has been inaugurated among the newspaper men of the State to secure funds for the erection of a memorial to the late George D. Perkins on the capitol grounds at Des Moines.

A conference on child welfare, arranged by the Department of Economics and Sociology, was held at the State University of Iowa on March 31st, the principal speaker being Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

A valuable discovery was recently made when the original journal kept by Sergeant John Ordway from May 14, 1804, to September 30, 1805, while on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, was found among the Nicholas Biddle papers. The journal is now in the

possession of the American Philosophical Society. When the journal of Sergeant Pryor is found, if one is in existence, the record kept by the principal officers on this expedition will be complete.

Mr. Charles R. Green of Olathe, Kansas, deserves much credit for his series of books relating to the early days in Kansas. For several years he has been publishing these books at a loss to himself, since the sales have not as a rule been sufficient to pay the cost of publication.

Professor Edward C. Page has built up an excellent historical museum at the Northern Illinois State Normal School at DeKalb, Illinois, an enterprise which is worthy of imitation, especially in the public schools where the visualization of history is an important end to be gained.

THE GENERAL N. B. BAKER LIBRARY

The General N. B. Baker Library of Sutherland, O'Brien County, Iowa, has an interesting history. It is the pioneer library of northwestern Iowa, having been established by William Huston Woods in 1874 in a cabin out on the prairie far from any town. During the early years the library was maintained by subscriptions, and the settlers of the region responded to such an extent that for the first year there were thirty-nine subscribers. A number of the leading magazines were secured and books were acquired as funds permitted. On one occasion General Duane Wilson donated to the library eighty books and nearly six hundred magazines. The library was named in honor of Nathaniel B. Baker, Adjutant General of Iowa during the Civil War.

William Huston Woods was a pioneer of Iowa City, where he lived from 1839 to 1862; and later he moved to northwestern Iowa when that region was still a sparsely settled frontier.

Mrs. Roma Wheeler-Woods, wife of the founder of the library, has been the corresponding secretary since its establishment. The library, which is in constant use by the people of Sutherland, is still kept in the Woods home, but plans are being made for the erection of a building in which the library may be suitably housed in the future.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACOB VAN DER ZEE, Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa, and Instructor in Political Science in the State University of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1913, p. 142.)

THOMAS TEAKLE, Instructor in History in the North Des Moines High School. Member of The State Historical Society of Iowa. Author of *The Rendition of Barclay Coppoc*. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for October, 1912, p. 593.)

LOUIS THOMAS JONES, Member of The State Historical Society of Iowa. Born in 1884 in Buffalo, New York. Graduated in 1906 from Wilmington College. Received the degree of M. A. in 1911 from the University of Kansas, and the degree of Ph. D. in 1914 from the State University of Iowa. Instructor in History at Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1909-1912. Research Assistant in The State Historical Society of Iowa, 1912-1913. Removed in 1913 to Orlando, Florida. Author of *The Quakers of Iowa*.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

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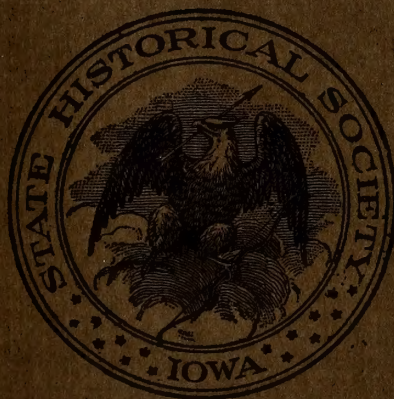
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THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS

JULY NINETEEN HUNDRED FOURTEEN

VOLUME TWELVE NUMBER THREE

FRENCH DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF THE EASTERN IOWA COUNTRY BEFORE 1763

Some eighty years have elapsed since permanent settlers first came to the beautiful streams and valleys, and to the stretches of dense forest and fertile prairie in eastern Iowa. Why had the beginning of the pioneer's conquest with axe and plough been so long postponed, and what had happened in this part of the Great Valley before "the magic wand of civilization" appeared in the form of crude log cabins? The story may be gathered from many scattered and fragmentary records.

JEAN NICOLET

For almost one hundred years after its discovery by the Spaniard, Hernando de Soto, the valley of the "Great River" lay unmolested by white men and well-nigh unknown to the civilized world of Europe.¹ Then came an Indian interpreter, Jean Nicolet, despatched in 1634 by the Governor of Canada to the region west of Lake Michigan to arrange a peace between the inhabitants there and the Hurons, allies of the French. The ambassador had heard of a people without hair or beard and set out fully prepared to meet the Chinese. A Jesuit Father afterwards related the story of Nicolet's arrival in the Wisconsin country among the Winnebago Indians. He "wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors. No sooner did they perceive him than the women and children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder

¹ An account of de Soto's expedition and death was furnished by a comrade to the King of Spain in 1544.—French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Part II, p. 97.

in both hands,— for thus they called the two pistols that he held. The news of his coming quickly spread to the places round about, and there assembled four or five thousand men. Each of the chief men made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least sixscore Beavers.” Needless to add, the peace was established and the ambassador returned to eastern Canada.²

Nicolet afterward assured a Jesuit missionary that had he sailed a three days’ journey farther upon a great river into those distant regions he would have reached the sea. The good Father ventured to declare: “Now I have strong suspicions that this is the sea which answers to that North of new Mexico, and that from this sea there would be an outlet towards Japan and China. Nevertheless, as we do not know whither this great lake [Lake Michigan] tends, or this fresh-water sea [Mississippi River], it would be a bold undertaking to go and explore those countries”, so full of peoples who had never heard the name of Jesus Christ.³ It is believed that Nicolet passed up Green Bay and the Fox River, crossed the portage, and then journeyed part way down the Wisconsin River before he returned eastward.⁴ And so the Iowa country narrowly escaped discovery.

RADISSON AND GROSEILLIERS

It was about the year 1659, not so many years after English colonists had landed to found homes in a new England and Hollanders had established a new Amsterdam upon the Atlantic Coast, that Pierre Esprit Radisson and Medard Chouart des Groseilliers, French *coureurs de bois* or wood-rangers, on an exploring expedition into the vast American

² Thwaites’s *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. XXIII, p. 279.

³ Thwaites’s *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237, 239.

⁴ Shea’s *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley*, p. xxii. Parkman’s *La Salle* (11th Edition), pp. xxiii, xxiv, does not accord with *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 and 2, footnote.

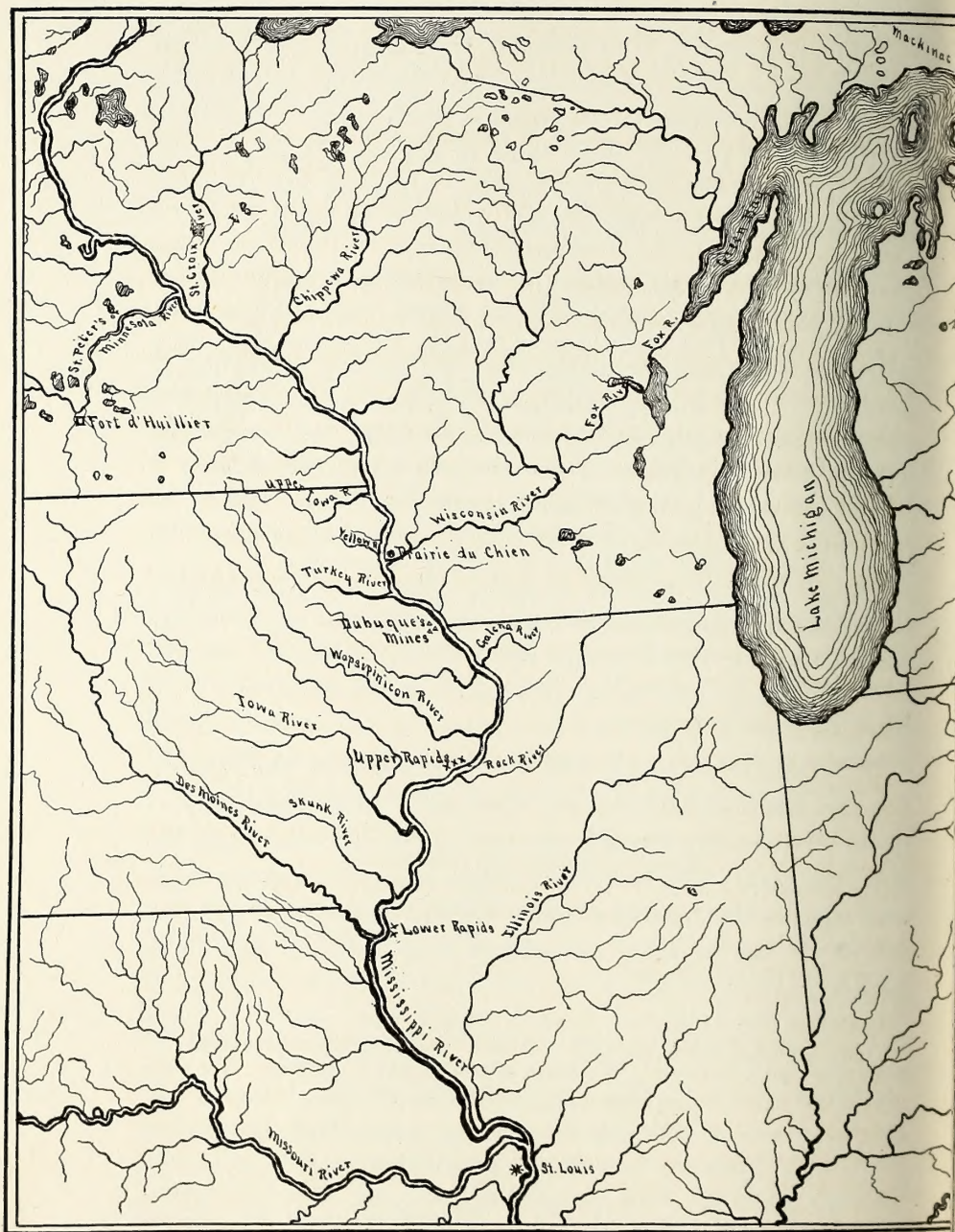
interior, discovered, it is claimed, the country which a few millions of people now inhabit west of the upper Mississippi River in the States of Minnesota and Iowa. Radisson, writing about twenty years later of his travels among the Indians of the Great Lakes region, recorded his observations and feelings in the following quaint English:

The country was so pleasant, so beautifull & fruitfull that it grieved me to see y^t y^e world could not discover such inticing countrys to live in. This I say because that the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, or for a sterill land and horrid country. . . . Contrarywise those kingdoms are so delicious & under so temperat a climat, plentifull of all things, the earth bringing foorth its fruit twice a yeare, the people live long & lusty & wise in their way. What conquest would that bee att litle or no cost; what laborinth of pleasure should millions of people have, instead that millions complaine of misery & poverty! . . . It's true, I confesse, that the accesse is difficult, but must say that we are like the Cockscombs of Paris, when first they begin to have wings, imagining that the larks will fall in their mouths roasted; but we ought [to remember] that vertue is not acquired wth-out labour & taking great paines.⁵

Unfortunately for all who are interested in the matter, one can discover no evidence which does more than tend to prove that the two French explorers ever laid eyes upon the Iowa country. The statement which has caused many modern writers to proclaim such varied opinions about the extent of Radisson's wanderings may well be set forth here:

We weare 4 moneths in our voyage wthout doeing any thing but goe from river to river. We mett several sorts of people. We conversed wth them, being long time in alliance wth them. By the persuation of som of them we went into y^e great river that divides itselfe in 2, where the hurrons wth some Ottanake & the wild men that had warrs wth them had retired. . . . This nation have warrs against those of [the] forked river. It is so called because it

⁵ Scull's *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, pp. 150, 151.



MAP SHOWING THE RIVERS AND TRADING POSTS MENTIONED IN THIS ARTICLE

has 2 branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the South, w^{ch} we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they gave us.⁶

Whether these entries in Radisson's interesting journal prove anything or not, there is a contemporaneous report about two Frenchmen who, while wintering upon the shores of Lake Superior, had made several excursions to the neighboring tribes. At Quebec they related an account of a six days' journey southwestward and of a meeting with some Hurons who in their wanderings had "encountered a beautiful River, large, wide, deep, and worthy of comparison, they say, with our great river St. Lawrence. On its banks they found the great Nation of the Alimiwee [Illinois], which gave them a very kind reception. This nation comprises sixty Villages — which confirms us in the knowledge that we already possessed, concerning many thousands of

⁶ Seull's *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, pp. 167, 168.

The late Dr. Thwaites believed that one "who attempts to critically read his pages and trace the intricate wanderings of these adventurous explorers, upon a modern map, must often trust to inference." He nevertheless conceded that Radisson clearly indicated the Mississippi River, that he probably referred to the Iowa River as the western branch, and that he made the approach to the Mississippi up the Fox River and down the Wisconsin.— See *Wisconsin Historical Collections* (1888), Vol. XI, pp. 67, 70.

In Thwaites's *Wisconsin*, p. 40, we read: "It is not difficult for us to believe that the forked river, although unknown to Radisson as such, was the Mississippi with its Missouri affluent, and that these uneasy wanderers had accidentally discovered the former eighteen years previous to Jolliet and Marquette." See also p. 60.

Mr. Campbell in the *Parkman Club Papers*, p. 27, and in the *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1895, pp. 88-110, is convinced that Radisson's story of the Great River is pure fabrication.

Mr. Blakeley in the *Minnesota Historical Society Collections* (1898), Vol. VIII, p. 329, declared his belief that Radisson saw the Missouri River, which, with the Platte River, formed "the forked river". Mr. Upham (1905) in Vol. X, Part II, p. 478, of the same publication, feels certain that the "great river" mentioned by Radisson was none other than the Illinois River, and that "the forked river" consisted of the Mississippi and the Missouri.

Dr. Laenas G. Weld in *On the Way to Iowa* (1910), p. 20, wisely dismisses the trouble by saying that while the discovery of the Upper Mississippi "may be reasonably inferred, this is not definitely confirmed by Radisson's journal."

people who fill all those Western regions." These Frenchmen also visited the Sioux Indians of forty villages: indeed, a Jesuit Father in 1660 reported that "Des grosillers wintered with the nation of the ox, which he says consists of 4 thousand men; they are sedentary Nadwesserons [Sioux]."'

Although the foregoing information contains no satisfying proof of the presence of the two French adventurers in the Iowa land, there is at least some ground for believing that they set foot in what is now the State of Iowa: they seem to have obtained a broad knowledge of the Illinois and the Sioux tribes, both of which were later found dwelling in villages in the Iowa country. Indeed, among the many nations which Radisson declares he visited are enumerated the "Maingonis" [Moingonas], probably the same Indians who were encountered by Joliet and Marquette in the Iowa country a few years afterward.⁸

Of the savages who occupied the eastern part of the Iowa

⁷ Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations* (1659-1660), Vol. XLV, pp. 233, 235, 237, and p. 163 (*Journal of the Jesuit Fathers*). In a footnote reference on p. 272, the editor asserts that the two Frenchmen were Radisson and Groseilliers. The Rev. J. Tailhan, editor in 1864 of Nicholas Perrot's memoir upon the manners, customs, and religion of the savages of North America, did not believe that these Frenchmen either crossed or saw the Mississippi, but spoke of it only from hearsay, and so visited only the Sioux Indians east of the river.—*Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 213. Shea's *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley*, p. xxiii, agrees.

⁸ Scull's *Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson*, p. 246.

Dr. Weld in an address entitled *On the Way to Iowa*, p. 20, believes that this is the earliest appearance of the name Des Moines.

Agnes C. Laut in her book on the *Pathfinders of the West* (1904) aims to answer the question whether Radisson reached the Great Valley before Marquette. She disclaims any desire to "become involved in the childish quarrel that has split the western historical societies and obscured the main issue of Radisson's feat"; and finds convincing evidence to prove that he reached the Upper Mississippi, that he crossed the divide between the Mississippi and the Missouri, that he visited the Mandans on the latter river, and that in the course of his explorations he "seems to have circled over the territory now known as Wisconsin, perhaps eastern Iowa and Nebraska, South Dakota, Montana, and back over North Dakota and Minnesota". See pp. 84, 86, and 89.

country at this early date there is no record, but there is a statement, based on the authority of Nicholas Perrot, for many years a *coureur de bois* and interpreter in the Great Lakes region, that the Hurons and Ottawas fleeing before the Iroquois of the East "took refuge on the Mississippi, called at present the *Louisianne*. They ascended this river to twelve leagues, [or about 33 miles] from the Ouisconching [Wisconsin], where they found another river that is called [river] of the Ayoës [Ioway]. They followed it to its source, and there met nations who received them cordially. But, in all the extent of country which they overran, having seen no place proper to establish themselves, by reason that there was no wood there at all, and that prairies and level plains were all that appeared, although buffaloes and other animals were there in abundance, they returned upon their steps by the same route; and, after having once more reached the *Louisianne*, they ascended higher."⁹ These events in the lives of the refugee Hurons and Ottawas are supposed to have taken place between the years 1657 and 1660. The "river of the Ioway Indians" was perhaps the Upper Iowa River now traversing the counties of Allamakee and Winneshiek, although the home of the Ioway tribe was then somewhere above the present northern boundary of Iowa, perhaps several days' journey west of the Mississippi, in the neighborhood of the famous pipestone quarry in southwestern Minnesota.¹⁰

⁹ Perrot's *Memoire* translated in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. II, pp. 207, 208.

Such bush or forest rangers as Radisson, Groseilliers, and Perrot were the pathfinders of civilization — they pushed out into the wilderness from Mackinac with their canoe cargoes of goods for the Indian trade. Indeed, the first two *coureurs* gave the impetus which led to the grant of a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. See an article by Frederick J. Turner in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. IX, pp. 568, 569.

¹⁰ Perrot's *Memoire* translated in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. II, p. 213.

In the spring of the year 1676 a Jesuit priest, Louis André, wrote a letter

LOUIS JOLIET AND FATHER JACQUES MARQUETTE

Not long after traders' reports of numerous Indian tribes in the country beyond the Great Lakes gained circulation among the Jesuit missionaries of Canada, Father René Menard was impelled by his enthusiasm for the cause of Christ to seek the western nations. It is alleged upon slight authority that he descended either the St. Croix or the Wisconsin and then ascended the Mississippi in his attempt to find the wandering Hurons and preach to them.¹¹ Tidings of his death in this unknown wilderness in 1663 were followed by the missionary enterprise of Father Claude Allouez in the same Wisconsin country, where he learned of people dwelling "toward the great river named Messipi", but he never visited the Sioux Indians of whom he wrote nor the river whose name he was the first to record in anything like its present form.¹²

Father Marquette resumed the mission work at La Pointe upon Lake Superior where Allouez left off in 1669. Thither resorted the tribesmen who occupied the country between Lake Michigan and the Missouri River, and from Hudson Bay to the Ohio. More and more the Society of Jesus became interested in the savages who dwelt upon the shores of the mysterious western stream, and so we find Marquette making attempts to win the good-will of the Sioux by means of presents: he despatched an interpreter to tell the Sioux

in which he referred to some Indians called "aiaoua": they were said to dwell two hundred leagues west of Lake Michigan in a village "very large but poor; for their greatest wealth consists of ox-hides and of Red Calumets [buffalo skins and red pipes]." See Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LX, pp. 203, 321. This is probably the earliest mention of the Ioway Indians, as Perrot wrote his memoir between the years 1718 and 1721.

¹¹ Winchell's *Historical Sketch of Explorations and Surveys in Minnesota*, p. 4.

¹² Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LI, p. 53; *Parkman Club Publications*, p. 205; and Winchell's *Historical Sketch*, p. 4. Shea disagrees in his *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley*, pp. xxv, xxviii, and thinks Allouez reached the Mississippi.

to recognize Frenchmen everywhere and not to kill them or the Indians in their company, and it is said that the Sioux consented.¹³

In the autumn of 1669 Marquette wrote that the Black Gowns were already with the Outagamis or Foxes and that he was going to visit the Illinois who lived 30 days' journey to the southwestward and on their way to La Pointe had to cross "a great river" nearly a league in width, flowing from north to south. Marquette declared that it "is hard to believe that that great River discharges its waters in Virginia, and we think rather that it has its mouth in California." He expressed his intention to open this passage to the Jesuit Fathers: a discovery which would give them "full knowledge either of the South Sea or of the Western Sea."¹⁴

Not until the spring of 1673 did Father Marquette "obtain from God the grace of being able to visit the Nations who dwell along the Missisipi River": he set out then in company with Louis Joliet, an experienced fur trader (whom Count Frontenac, Governor of New France, had appointed to make the exploration), "fully resolved to do and suffer everything for so glorious an Undertaking." Canoeing down the Wisconsin River, on the 17th of June, "with a joy" which Marquette could not express, they entered the far-famed but unknown river upon whose western bank lay the unknown Iowa country.¹⁵

Marquette described the Iowa highlands, a view of which at once arrested their eager gaze: they saw "a large Chain of very high Mountains," and farther on, as they paddled slowly southward, a country with hardly any woods or

¹³ Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIV, p. 193. The Jesuit Father added: "I could wish that all the Nations had as much love for God as these people have fear of the French; Christianity would soon be flourishing."

¹⁴ Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIV, pp. 13, 185, 189, 191.

¹⁵ Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX, pp. 89, 91, 107, 109.

“mountains”; and they observed turkeys and herds of buffaloes. After advancing sixty leagues or more without a sign of anything but animal life, on the 25th of June the newcomers “perceived on the water’s edge some tracks of men, and a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie . . . and, thinking it was a road which Led to some village of savages, We resolved to go and reconnoiter it . . . a rather hazardous one for two men who exposed themselves, alone, to the mercy of a barbarous and Unknown people.” In silence they followed the trail for a few miles and then discovered a village on the bank of a river and two others on a hill some distance beyond. Marquette described what happened as follows:

Then we Heartily commended ourselves to God, and, after exploring his aid, we went farther without being perceived, and approached so near that we could even hear the savages talking. We therefore Decided that it was time to reveal ourselves. This We did by Shouting with all Our energy, and stopped, without advancing any farther. On hearing the shout, the savages quickly issued from their Cabins, and having probably recognized us as frenchmen, especially when they saw a black gown,—or, at least, having no cause for distrust, as we were only two men, and had given notice of our arrival,—they deputed four old men to come and speak to us. Two of these bore tobacco-pipes, finely ornamented and Adorned with various feathers. They walked slowly, and raised their pipes toward the sun,—without, however, saying a word. They spent a rather long time in covering the short distance between their village and us. Finally, when they had drawn near, they stopped to Consider us attentively. I was reassured when I observed these Ceremonies, which with them are performed only among friends; and much more so when I saw them Clad in Cloth, for I judged thereby that they were our allies. I therefore spoke to them first, and asked them who they were. They replied they were Illinois; and, as a token of peace, they offered us their pipes to smoke. They afterward invited us to enter their Village, where all the people impatiently awaited us. These pipes for smoking tobacco are called in This country Calumets.

Quietly welcomed and curiously admired everywhere, the newcomers were greeted with such genuine compliments as: "How beautiful the sun is, O frenchman, when thou comest to visit us! All our village awaits thee, and thou shalt enter all our Cabins in peace"; and "How good it is, My brothers, that you should visit us." In a council summoned by the Chief, Marquette made some presents and delivered his message as emissary from God and the government of New France, to which he received the following response, along with a young slave:

I thank thee, Black Gown, and thee, O frenchman for having taken so much trouble to come to visit us. Never has the earth been so beautiful, or the sun so Bright, as to-day; Never has our river been so Calm, or so clear of rocks, which your canoes have Removed in passing; never has our tobacco tasted so good, or our corn appeared so fine, as We now see Them. Here is my son, whom I give thee to show thee my Heart. I beg thee to have pity on me, and on all my Nation. It is thou who Knowest the great Spirit who has made us all. It is thou who speakest to Him, and who hearest his word. Beg Him to give me life and health, and to come and dwell with us, in order to make us Know him.

Then followed an extraordinary feast consisting of four courses: from a large wooden platter of corn meal boiled in water and seasoned with fat, the master of ceremonies took several spoonsful and placed them in the visitors' mouths, a courtesy which he repeated after removing the bones from some fish and "blowing upon them to cool Them"; and upon their refusal to partake of the boiled meat of a freshly-killed dog, the Frenchmen were treated to the fattest morsels of buffalo meat. They were then conducted through the village of nearly three hundred lodges, and were everywhere heaped with presents of belts, garters, and other articles made of the hair of bears and cattle, dyed red, yellow, and gray. On the afternoon of the following day, after a night's rest in the Chief's lodge, they were accom-

panied to their canoes by nearly six hundred natives, and amid "every possible manifestation of the joy that Our visit had caused them", Marquette relates, the aborigines of the Iowa country saw their first European visitors embark and disappear to the southward, bearing away with them a calumet or pipe of peace to protect them against possible attacks by savages in the region farther on.¹⁶

As to just where this interesting scene was staged upon Iowa soil, writers disagree: some assume from the location of two villages and their latitude upon Marquette's map that "Peouarea" and "Moingouena" lay upon the Des Moines River, (on the upper part of which, by the way, there is a town named Moingona); other authorities point out more correctly that the latitudes of Marquette's map differ so much from those of to-day that the Illinois villages at "Peouarea" must have been situated near the mouth of the Iowa River, and that the "Moingouena" villages were indicated at some vague distance west of "Peouarea", perhaps upon hearsay evidence. Furthermore, it seems certain that the Illinois River region rather than Iowa soil was the permanent abode of the Peouarea and the Moingouena Indians; and there is reason to believe that neither tribe, "in its frequent sojourns in the country across the Mississippi, always resorted to the same western tributary."¹⁷

MICHEL ACCAULT, FATHER HENNEPIN, AND DANIEL
GREYSOLON DU LUTH

In the spring months of 1680 La Salle, a man who foresaw the tremendous future of trade with the savages and had come to the Mississippi Valley to seek a route to China,

¹⁶ For the account of this first visit to the Iowa country, see Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX, pp. 113-125, 131, 137. Compare the words of welcome here quoted with the account of the visit of the black-robed priest in Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.

¹⁷ Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX, p. 108, map; Shea's *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 22; THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HIS-

dispatched Michel Accault, Antoine Angel, and Father Hennepin to ascend the River "Meschasipi" and explore the northern country. These men spent nearly a month canoeing northward, and except for the fact that they mention only two considerable rivers flowing from the west, the Otontenta and the St. Peter's, one does not know whether they really set foot upon the Iowa shore of the Mississippi. The first river referred to was probably the Des Moines, although the Iowa River is of about the same size at its mouth.¹⁸ Beyond the present Iowa country the three voyagers fell into the hands of the Sioux Indians, but were soon ransomed by the greatest of wood-rangers, Daniel Grey-solon Du Luth, and his party of employees who were then poaching upon the trade preserves of Count Frontenac and La Salle. Then all passed by the Iowa country on their journey to Montreal by way of the Wisconsin and Fox rivers and the Great Lakes, Du Luth's men no doubt paddling canoes loaded with beaver skins.¹⁹

NICHOLAS PERROT

Now followed the age of forest-rangers and *voyageurs* licensed by the governor of New France — Frenchmen, who

TORY AND POLITICS, Vol. I, pp. 6, 11, 14, 15; and the volume published by the Minnesota Historical Society on *The Aborigines of Minnesota*, p. 85, and reproduction of maps.

In *The Man with the Iron Hand*, the author, John C. Parish, tells the story of French explorations in the Great Valley from the Indian's viewpoint. The scene of action of the first chapters is the Iowa River in Louisa County and not the Des Moines River in Lee County, many writers to the contrary notwithstanding.

¹⁸ Shea's *Discovery and Explorations of the Mississippi Valley*, p. 114; and Thwaites's *Hennepin's A New Discovery*, Vol. I, pp. 186, 221. Dr. Thwaites deems Hennepin's journal of this first exploration quite reliable despite later writings which are "clumsily plagiaristic" and make impossible claims. See pp. xxxiii, xxxv. Hennepin's map of 1683 indicates the Mississippi as the "River Colbert" flowing between ranges of mountains. See *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (The State Historical Society of Minnesota), p. 28.

¹⁹ Thwaites's *Hennepin's A New Discovery*, Vol. I, p. 293; and Margry's memoir of La Salle (1682) translated in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVI, pp. 107, 108, 109.

sought out the Indian tribes of all the country immediately west of the Great Lakes to obtain the furs, peltries, and skins of the wild game animals. The record of the trading operations of these enterprising men has not been preserved. How far west they went, how far south, what streams they ascended and descended with canoe cargoes, whether they penetrated the interior of the Iowa country — all these are questions which must be left unanswered.

Some general conclusions, however, have been made as to their influence upon the western Indian nations: these traders rendered the Indians dependent upon Europeans for guns and merchandise, and in the interests of the fur traffic promoted peace among all the tribes.²⁰ But there was one man who may be looked upon as a typical representative of the commercial activity of that time, and one of the most important figures in the annals of the fur trade at that early day.

For twenty years a simple ranger of the woods, Nicholas Perrot was at length appointed "Commandant of the West" in 1685. He hastened to the Upper Mississippi Valley, no doubt by the well-known Fox-Wisconsin waterway, and there erected during the next few years four or five crude stockades, "points of commercial vantage rather than military strongholds." Two or three of these "forts" were established upon the banks of Lake Pepin and to them resorted the Sioux Indians who then gathered the products of the trap and chase from all the country now embraced in southern Minnesota and northern Iowa. Indeed, it was at one of these forts that Perrot on the 9th of May, 1689, took formal possession of the region in the name of the King of France.

By a considerable array of argument based on the statements of Perrot's contemporaries and on Indian tradition,

²⁰ See *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. IX, pp. 571, 572.

a recent writer would have us believe that Perrot also established a post on the western bank of the Mississippi about twelve miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. This claim has been exploded: it is now pretty generally agreed that Perrot's Fort St. Nicholas stood north of the Wisconsin River as indicated on a crude map of the Great Valley in 1688. The topographical features of the Iowa country upon this map are very meagre: the "*Rivière des Moingona*" and upon it a village of Moingona Indians were the only details of which the great French cartographer Franquelin had knowledge.

Some time during the year 1690, upon his return to the Mississippi Valley, Perrot was met by an embassy of Miami Indians, forty strong, whose villages then lay on the eastern shore of the Mississippi some leagues below the mouth of the Wisconsin River. They begged him to set up a post in or near their country so that they might sell their furs there. Each presented him with four beaver skins and a chief gave him "a present of a piece of ore which came from a very rich Lead Mine, which he had found on the bank of a stream which empties into the Mississippi". Perrot, it is declared, "promised them that he would within twenty days establish a post below the Ouiskonche [Wisconsin] river".

It is generally believed that the lead mines referred to were about fifty-five miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River, but opinion differs on the question whether the lead was found along Catfish Creek a mile or two below the present city of Dubuque or along the Galena River in Illinois. According to the records of that day, Perrot built a fort opposite the lead mines "in a situation very strong against the assaults of neighboring tribes." On either bank of the Mississippi River may be found a spot answering the de-

scription, but the preponderance of opinion favors some place near the site of Dunleith on the Illinois side.²¹

PIERRE CHARLES LE SUEUR AND JEAN PÉNICAUT

Le Sueur first visited the Sioux country in 1683, coming by the Wisconsin River route and returning at various times before 1700 he spent, altogether, seven years there. In the year 1695 he received orders from Count Frontenac to build a fort on Prairie Island in the Upper Mississippi in order to effect a peace between the Sioux and the Chippewa Indians. In the same year he returned to Montreal, and it was not until the summer of 1700 that he was enabled despite complaints to make another visit to the new country. On his voyage up the Mississippi in a felucca and two canoes manned by nineteen persons, word came to him of the defeat of the Chippewas by the Sioux and the "Aya-vois" [Iowa], and also that a general Indian war was impending. Above the Illinois River he met many *voyageurs* descending, and at some point opposite the Iowa country he was joined by five Canadians, one dangerously wounded in the head, all naked, and armed with one "wretched gun, with five or six charges of powder and ball": they had been plundered and cruelly beaten by the Sacs and Foxes and other enemies of the Sioux then living in the Wisconsin country.

²¹ For these statements about Nicholas Perrot the writer is indebted to Dan E. Clark's article on *Early Forts on the Upper Mississippi* in the *Proceedings of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association*, Vol. IV, pp. 93-98. The reader is directed to the footnote references on pages 97 and 98. Mr. Clark declares: "Those writers who believe that Perrot's post opposite the lead mines was located, as some say, near the mouth of the Des Moines River, or as is claimed by others, twenty-one leagues above the Des Moines River, have little to support their views. In the first place no lead mines have been known in either of the regions indicated. And in the second place the Miamis were then living much further up the Mississippi, and it is not reasonable to suppose that they would request the establishment of a trading post at such a great distance from their dwelling place."

See also the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, pp. 330-333.

To the left as they ascended lay a long stretch of prairie charming by reason of its beauty and its grandeur; while farther on they passed the mouth of a river which flowed into the Mississippi. Pénicaut, one of Le Sueur's companions, describes the Iowa land from this point in the following words:

It is called the Rivière de Moingona, the name of a nation of Savages who dwelt upon its banks. Beyond its mouth, a league up the Mississippi, there are rapids broken up into cascades. These rapids are seven leagues long, and for this distance, after having unloaded our merchandise and ammunition, we were obliged to carry our shallop. After returning to the water at the end of these seven leagues we found seven navigable leagues; but at the end of these seven leagues we again met with the greatest inconvenience when we came upon seven more leagues of shallow water and rapids, where it was necessary, first of all, to unload our shallop again and to tow it up for seven leagues more. To the left of these rapids is an open prairie country extending inland for more than ten leagues from the bank of the Mississippi. The grass of these prairies is like sainfoin and does not quite reach up to the knee. There are all kinds of animals upon these prairies. When we had passed these rapids, which made us very tired, we found upon the right and the left mines of lead which are called to this day the Mines of Nicolas Perrot, which is the name of the man who discovered them. Twenty leagues higher up on the right, we found the mouth of a big river called the Ouisconsin. Opposite its mouth there are four islands in the Mississippi and a mountain opposite to the left, very high, half a league long.²²

Le Sueur, Pénicaut, and their companions proceeded northward, after their visit to eastern Iowa, and beyond Lake Pepin set up a post. They also followed for some distance westward the St. Peter's or Minnesota River,

²² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVI, pp. 175, 177; and Shea's *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, pp. 90, 92-95.

Relation de Pénicaut in Margry's *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amerique Septentrionale*, Vol. V, pp. 411, 412. Pénicaut's figures are not to be relied upon: the distance between the well-known obstructions in the river opposite Keokuk and Davenport (first mentioned by him) is about one hundred and twenty miles.

erecting upon its banks Fort d'Huillier. From this post, according to an old map, an Indian trail led westward to the "Ajaouez, Maha, and Panis villages" situated on the Missouri River. That any members of this party of traders afterward spent any time in the eastern Iowa country there is no way to prove, but one has reason to conjecture that the west bank of the Mississippi was much frequented during those years, especially since the name "Perrot's Lead Mines" was applied to the lead region long after the discoverer's departure from the West. Certain it is that from now on much trade was diverted southward down the Mississippi to the loss of traders in Canada, thus improving the prospects of the newly-created French colony of Louisiana.²³

BARON LAHONTAN AND DR. DANIEL COXE

Le Sueur's journey to and beyond the Iowa country was preceded by the alleged voyage of Baron Lahontan and his party. This gentleman spent considerable time in New France and familiarized himself extensively with western life. On his return to Europe, in dire poverty, he published his travels and announced to the world his discovery of a wonderful river west of the Mississippi. He told of journeying from Mackinac by the Fox-Wisconsin water route to the Mississippi and reaching the River Long on the 2nd day of November, 1688. The Baron and his adventurers ascended this stream some distance, and on their return descended the Mississippi, arriving at Mackinac in May, 1689, having come by way of the Illinois River and Lake Michigan.

²³ See Winsor's *The Mississippi Basin*, pp. 53, 58, 63. Le Page du Pratz reported that about 1700 Du Charleville, a kinsman of Bienville, sought to extend trade connections farther to the north by following the Mississippi to its source. He went one hundred leagues beyond the Falls of St. Anthony, but Sioux hunters discouraged him.

Fort d'Huillier was abandoned for fear of the Sioux before 1703.

It is believed that Lahontan had wintered at Mackinac in 1688 and from the stories of the wood-rangers probably laid the foundation of his fabulous *Rivière Longue*. His book, however, came to be the chief rival of Hennepin's volumes in the book market of Europe — it ranked among the best sellers of the day. Only the reports of later travelers revealed the falsity of the Baron's claims, and Lahontan's *Voyages* were soon branded as fabrication despite their value as authoritative sources of information on many subjects. As late as 1720 a curious map of the Upper Mississippi Valley depicted the *Rivière des Moingona* taking its start at a place far to the westward: at that point are the words: "Jusqu'icy est venu le Baron de Lahontan" (To this place came Baron de Lahontan). Modern historians have put forth varying opinions, each attempting to identify the Baron's river. They have suggested the Missouri, the Des Moines, and the Root and St. Peter's rivers of Minnesota, but others agree with Parkman and Thwaites that the Baron's "marvellous story of pretended discoveries" was a pure hoax, meant perhaps to be a "satire upon European customs and manners — a cynical rebuke to the credulity of the reading world".

Having purchased all rights in the patent of Carolina, Dr. Daniel Coxe manned and fitted out two armed vessels in England and despatched them to explore the regions to which he laid claim. From the journals and memoirs of the officers of one ship Coxe later wrote a description of "Carolana, an English province, called Florida by the Spaniards and Louisiana by the French": from the exploring party he learned of the "Meschasebe" [Mississippi] River and some of its tributaries, also "a fair river, which our people were at the mouth of, but could not learn its name. I suppose it's the same the French call Moingona. Some make it

to proceed from the Mitchayowa or long river, as may be discerned in the annexed map; but as all our journals are silent in that matter, so shall I, till some more perfect discoveries thereof afford us further light and certainty therein." By declaring that "Baron le Hontan's long river" lay forty leagues higher up, Coxe indicated that the Moingona and the *Rivière Longue* were probably not one and the same stream.

The spurious nature of Lahontan's River Long did not fully dawn upon the European world until Charlevoix visited the country in 1721 and published the following account of the Iowa wilderness, and especially of the longest branch of the Upper Mississippi:

The Moingona issues from the midst of an immense meadow which swarms with buffaloes and other wild beasts. Its course from north to west is said to be two hundred and fifty leagues in length. . . . Going up the Moingona, we find great plenty of pit coal; one hundred and fifty leagues from its mouth there is a very large cape, which causes a turn in the river, where its waters are red and stinking. It is said that great quantities of mineral stones and some antimony have been found upon this cape.²⁴

WILLIAM DE L'ISLE

One of the most interesting records of eastern Iowa's hazy past is a map of "Louisiane et du Cours du Mississipi", compiled in 1703 by William de L'Isle, the most noted French cartographer of his day, who profited by the information given by Du Luth, Perrot, and Le Sueur. This

²⁴ For the map of 1720 see copy in *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 558. For conclusions about Lahontan's claims see *The Aborigines of Minnesota* (The State Historical Society of Minnesota), p. 36; and Thwaites *Lahontan's Voyages to North America*, Vol. I, pp. xxiii, xxxviii, 167, 178, 179.

For Charlevoix's travels see *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. IV, p. 453.

For Coxe's account see Alvord and Bidgood's *First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region*, pp. 232, 233; and French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Part IV, pp. 230, 232. Coxe's book, published in 1722, has come to be looked upon as a mere invention contrived to bolster up his claims "against

chart with its French nomenclature shows the "des Moines ou le Moingona" River and other streams, also the lead mines (mine de Plomb), and, as the best sign of human habitation, it indicates by means of two fine parallel lines a trader's trail, "Chemin des Voyageurs", commencing at the Mississippi River a few miles below the mouth of the Wisconsin River and running westward across northern Iowa to the vicinity of the lake district, thence past a "village des Aiaouez" to the Big Sioux River, on either side of which were two more Ioway villages, probably near the site of the present city of Sioux Falls, South Dakota.²⁵

THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AFTER THE YEAR 1700

The French had been settled in Canada for nearly a century when in the year 1699 Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville arrived at the mouth of the Mississippi to establish a new French colony. As the father and Governor of "Louisiana", which included all territory west of the Mississippi River and reached northward to the Ohio and eastward to the Alleghanies, he did much to forward the colonization movement. But the "care of peopling this new and almost uninhabited country was principally confided to the agents of the Paris police."²⁶

Le Sueur, a kinsman of d'Iberville, and his companions were probably the first French voyageurs to ascend the Mississippi River from its mouth in the interests of trade with the natives. French forest-rangers from Canada had

the French by asserting priority for English explorations."—Winsor's *The Mississippi Basin*, p. 46.

The editor of *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, pp. 173, 270, believes that Bienville in 1699 encountered one of the two ships near the present city of New Orleans and warned the commander to turn back. From then on dated the English pretensions to the first discovery of the Mississippi River.

²⁵ For De L'Isle's map see French's *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Part II, frontispiece.

²⁶ Marbois's *The History of Louisiana*, p. 109.

been in lawful or unlawful control of the traffic in beaver skins, and bore their cargoes of furs eastward to Montreal. Henceforth, however, they were to suffer from the competition of fellow-countrymen who hailed from the new colony in the South. Indeed, in a letter written in the autumn of 1704, Bienville declared that he wished to cause the descent of one hundred and ten Canadians who were scattered throughout the valleys of the Mississippi and the Missouri in small bands of seven or eight.²⁷

In 1712 the French government, in order to relieve itself of a burden, conferred the exclusive trade of the colony upon Crozat, a rich financier. About this time the Renard or Fox Indians, stirred up by the Iroquois, began to resist the encroachment of French paternalism in the Wisconsin country: for the next fifteen years or more this tribe "embroiled the security of the Upper Country", pillaging and insulting French *voyageurs* whenever possible and by their wars preventing other tribes from reaping the benefits of the trap and chase.²⁸ Crozat tired of his privilege and gave it up in 1717, after sending over to Louisiana a number of robust and industrious persons and some poor families. "The Company of the West" or "The Mississippi Company" then obtained possession for a few years, during which John Law devised his scheme for raising money: on the strength of a belief in fabulous mines in the Mississippi Valley, he succeeded in perpetrating upon the people of Europe the "Mississippi Bubble". The colony then fell into the care of the Company of the Indies. After 1731 it became a direct dependency of the king of France and was governed as such until its cession to Spain in 1762.²⁹

²⁷ Margry's *Découvertes*, Vol. V, p. 368; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVI, pp. 200, 202.

²⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVI, pp. 289, 298, 327, 339, 340, 417, and Vol. XVII, p. xii.

²⁹ See an article by Benj. F. Shambaugh on *Iowa History from 1699 to 1821* in the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XVI, p. 31. Of Law's schemes Barbé

It was because the Foxes were intriguing with the un-subjected Sioux Indians of southern Minnesota that the Governor of Canada in 1727 permitted a trading company to set up a post among the Sioux and dispatched Boucher, Sieur de la Perriere, as commandant. Accompanied by Fathers Michel Guignas and Nicolas de Gonnor he journeyed by way of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway and up the Mississippi "between two chains of high, bare and very sterile mountains", as one of them later described the banks of the river. The Sioux and the Foxes had been enabled to carry on war because the bush-rangers of Canada traded with them under permission of officers of Louisiana and furnished them powder, lead, arms, and other merchandise of the Indian trade. The Governor-General of Canada feared that these woodsmen would before long secure for themselves and Louisiana all the trade of the Upper Mississippi country to the prejudice of Canadian commerce, and he submitted that the Company of the Indies was not entitled to enter the colony of Canada at all.³⁰

Marbois declared: "Whatever may be the fact, the name of Mississippi was soon associated with that of bankruptcy, and it is only after the lapse of a century that the real prosperity of the country has effaced the infamy connected with its name."

Father Gravier, missionary among the Illinois Indians, wrote in 1700: "I know not what the [French] Court will decide with reference to the Mississippi, if no silver mines be found there; For they seek not lands to cultivate. . . . The mines that have been sought for have not yet been found; but little heed is paid to the lead mines, which are very plentiful toward The Illinois country, and higher up the Mississippi toward the Scioux."—Thwaites's *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXV, p. 173.

The air of Europe was so charged with stories of the wonderfully rich Mississippi Valley that John Law easily separated people from their money, but to-day the farmers of this Valley are demonstrating every year what vast gold mines of another sort lie beneath the surface of their soil.

³⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. xii, 15, 57; Shea's *Early Voyages Up and Down the Mississippi*, p. 171; and Margry's *Découvertes*, Vol. VI, pp. 510, 511.

On October 3, 1728, deeming the fort no longer tenable and fearing the strategy of the Foxes, Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Boucherville (who had been left in command), and eleven other Frenchmen embarked in canoes and started for the Illinois country to proceed thence to Montreal. After a three days' journey beyond the mouth of the Wisconsin they found "at the river of the *Ayous*" some canoes left by a party of Foxes. At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th of October they were discovered by some Kickapoos and Mascoutins who immediately left their pirogues and ran to their village on a small river three leagues from the Mississippi. As the French approached the mouth of this little stream³¹ (believed to be the present Iowa River) they saw the savages coming by land and canoe with the apparent intention of barring the way, so they at once loaded their twenty-five guns to prepare for trouble. The natives shouted out that they had no evil designs, and surrounding the newcomers, soon dragged them off to the village. They requested the Frenchmen to salute their fort with a discharge of musketry, which they did with fairly good grace. Boucher tells of the reception:

Afterwards they held a council and came to the conclusion to lodge us in the cabin of Ouiskouba whose relatives had just been killed by the French acting with the Illinois. All our baggage was carried into this cabin; Father Guignas was placed upon a mat and

³¹ The "river of the *Ayous*" is now called the Wapsipinicon: the Ioway Indians probably dwelt somewhere upon its banks at that time. The Kickapoos and the Mascoutins, who had been at war with the Illinois for years, then had a large permanent village upon the Rock River in Illinois, but no doubt frequently crossed the Mississippi on hunting expeditions into the Iowa country. Such a hunting party had probably set up a village on the "small river" or "*Rivière aux Boeufs*". Just what stream this was can not be exactly determined: from the fact that the French reached it three days below Rock River one may reasonably suppose it was the Iowa. Indeed, the Iowa River was often called the Bison or Buffalo. See the first map made of the Iowa country after it was opened to settlement in Lea's *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, and p. 28.

See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 38, 58, 206.

upon a very fine bear skin; an equally honorable place was prepared for me opposite the Reverend Father; we were regaled with deer flesh. We had no lack of company throughout the night as a great many of these barbarians had never seen a Frenchman and were attracted by curiosity. Ouiskouba and several chiefs who were hunting in the neighborhood were sent for.

Although these Indians were generally known to be allies of the Foxes and were then probably west of the Mississippi so as to be out of the reach of the French, they promised to protect their captives from the warlike Foxes: their warriors and brave young men promised to die with the French and declared their bodies would serve as ramparts. They persuaded the Frenchmen to prepare to spend the winter, and so in a week's time cabins were hewn out of the forest. Not long after, the arrival of ten Foxes threw the whole village into consternation. Then two cousins of Boucher by the name of Montbrun and one other escaped, an event which it is believed prevented the Kickapoos from surrendering the remaining nine to the Foxes. Fearing for their own lives in case they allowed the Foxes to get possession of the Frenchmen, the Kickapoos shifted their camp as quickly as possible to a neighboring island which was not so exposed to the Fox attack. To a band of thirty Foxes who were afterwards permitted to land upon the island, the Kickapoos announced that they would "die together rather than give up a single one of these Frenchmen." The Foxes, angered at this reply, arose with fire in their eyes, threatened vengeance, made up their bundles, and crossed the river, and three days' journey from their village in the Wisconsin country they met a Kickapoo and a Mascoutin hunting—these they massacred and scalped without pity.

Two young Kickapoos arrived one night shortly afterwards on the bank of the river, and uttered death-yells. A pirogue was sent to them, and they told of the sad death of

their comrades, news which spread consternation throughout the village and caused "weeping, lamentations, and horrible yells." The Indians reproached the Frenchmen with the death of these young men, and declared: "We are between two fires; the Renard has killed us, the Illinois has killed us, the Frenchman is angry with us. What are we to do?" Boucher convinced them that he could effect a peace between them and the Illinois. And so on December 27th, accompanied by two savages, Boucher set out in very severe weather and after many hardships and much fatigue arrived in nine days among the Peoaria on the Illinois River. He returned to the village in about one month and found all well. A few days after the 1st of March, 1729, ice disappeared in the Mississippi, and so all the French withdrew in their canoes, accompanied by seven pirogue loads of Kickapoos, to conclude a peace with the Illinois Indians.³² But during these months Monsieur de Boucherville's detention in the Iowa country had cost him at various times for purposes of self-preservation, or rather, "for the King's Service", all his powder, lead, bullets, gun-flints, ramrod-screws, fire-steels, awls, knives, braided coats, blankets, leggings, shirts, and vermilion.³³

³² Pierre Boucher, Sieur de Boucherville, was an ensign at the time. For his own account of the adventures related above see the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 36-54, 58, 59, 60, 62, 109, 110.

Father Guignas was later credited with having detached the Kickapoos and the Mascoutins from their alliance with the Foxes. The story of his captivity is told as follows in *The Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LXVIII, pp. 207, 209:

"For five months he was a captive among these Savages, where he had much to suffer and everything to fear. The time at last came when he was to be burned alive, and he prepared himself to finish his life in this horrible torment, when he was adopted by an old man, whose family saved his life, and procured him his liberty. Our Missionaries, who were among the Illinois, were no sooner acquainted with his sad situation, than they procured him all the alleviations they were able. Everything which he received he employed to conciliate the Savages, and succeeded even to the extent of engaging them to conduct him to the Illinois, and while there to make peace with the French and the Savages of that region."

³³ For a memorandum of the goods which he was obliged to give to the

The massacre of their young braves caused the Kickapoos to send couriers to the "Ayowetz" and the Sioux to request them not to give shelter to the Foxes in their territory. Thus it was that the Foxes or Renards, forsaken by their allies, found the hatchet lifted against them by all the tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley, and everywhere they were hounded like animals by the French. In the year 1730 they were in full retreat before the French and their Indian allies, were brought to bay far south upon the banks of the Illinois, and not only overwhelmingly defeated, but well-nigh exterminated. Scarcely had the French reëstablished their forts at Green Bay and among the Sioux, however, when an event occurred in 1733 which had two important consequences for the Iowa country: the Sac Indians, already filled with sympathy for the fast-vanishing tribe of their Fox neighbors, accidentally shot and killed de Villiers near Green Bay, and dreading their inability "to expiate the death of so prominent a French official, they now united their fate with that of the Foxes". The allied tribes sought refuge across the Mississippi in the Iowa land.³⁴

In their annual report, dated October 7, 1734, Beauharnois and Hocquart, Governor-General and Intendant of Canada, informed the king of France that according to the latest news the allied Sacs and Foxes, failing to receive a welcome from "the Sioux and the Ayouuais",³⁵ had "Established themselves in a fort on the Rivière Ouapsip-

Indians and for which he expected to be reimbursed by the French government to the extent of 2862 livres, see the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 83-86.

³⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. xiv, xv, 58, 59, 129, 182, 189.

³⁵ It is interesting to note some of the early forms of the name perpetuated by the State of Iowa. All attempts to reduce to writing the Indian pronunciation of the word clearly indicate phonetic spelling, surviving in French as Ayoës, Aiaoua, Ayavois, Ayoois, Aiaouez, Ayous, Ayowetz, Ayowets,

inckam, two or three days' journey below the Ouisconsin'', and that the Sacs had fortified themselves and had "compelled the Renards to build a fort for themselves so as to be separate from them, but nevertheless in their neighborhood."

Having started from Montreal in the autumn of 1734, Captain Nicolas Joseph de Noyelles in January, 1735, set out from the Indiana country in command of a war-party of eighty Frenchmen, one hundred and thirty Iroquois, forty Kickapoos, and one hundred Hurons and "Pouteoüatamis". On the journey across Illinois nearly all the last-named Indians deserted because "they wanted to go and eat up six cabins of Sakis"; and the captain detached a reconnoitering party which later captured five Sacs. These prisoners reported that the Foxes "were no longer at la Pomme de Cigne and that they had withdrawn to the Rivière sans fourche."³⁶ They were told that if they did not lead the expedition straight to the Renards, they would be tied to the stake and burned. Noyelles' story of the campaign has been preserved and need not be repeated here. In the dead of winter, poorly clad and half-starved,

Ayoüais, Ayouwais, Ayoués, and Ayououois; in Spanish as Ayouua, Hayuas, and Aioas; and in the English equivalent as Ayauway, Ioway, and Iowa.

That the Ioways had no sympathy for the outcast Foxes can be seen in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 53, 60, 63, 206, 219. Indeed, the French reported that "the Ayowais to whom They looked for help have taken a scalp from them."

³⁶ Margry's *Découvertes*, Vol. VI, p. 570, contains the French document translated in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 206, 215. For a sketch of the career of Captain de Noyelles see p. 112. On pp. 223 and 224 the late Dr. Thwaites included the following footnote:

"La Pomme de Cigne, or 'swan-apple', is the French form of the Indian name for the Wapsipinicon River, so called from a species of roots that grow plentifully on its banks. The 'river without a fork' (Rivière sans fourche) is the Des Moines, as is evident from the succeeding document. This river called the *Moingona*, from an Indian tribe of that name found near it by the explorers of the 17th century, is prominent on early maps, where it is laid down with a straight course, without affluents, and frequently identified with Lahontan's 'Rivière Longue'."

the little army found its way across the rivers and bleak prairies of the Iowa country in pursuit of the Sac and Fox refugees and fought an indecisive battle with the loss of two Frenchmen.³⁷

Such was Captain de Noyelles' unsuccessful expedition by way of the Wapsipinicon River to "the River Mongona 60 Leagues from the spot where that River falls into the Mississippi", against two hundred and fifty Sakis and Renards. So far as the records indicate, therefore, it was probably in the vicinity of the present city of Des Moines that the only battle ever fought between Indians and whites in the Iowa country took place. The captain's superior, Hocquart, declared that he could not better describe the fatigues and hardships of the long journey on foot than to say that he was "surprised that Frenchmen should have been able to undergo them"; while the expedition demonstrated to the Indians "that the French are as capable as they of undertaking Marches and of seeking The enemy at the extremities of the Colony."³⁸

But the allied tribes were not destroyed: indeed, they became more insolent than ever, killed stray French *voyageurs*, and compelled the abandonment in 1737 of Fort Beauharnois among the Sioux. The Governor-General in 1737 sent Pierre Paul, Sieur Marin, "to detach them from the Sioux and restrain them from injuring the Illinois", and otherwise watch the recalcitrants and keep them in check. There is a well-authenticated tradition that Marin built and maintained a fort from 1738 to 1740 below the mouth of the Wisconsin River, at the head of Magill's Slough, on the Iowa bank of the Mississippi: early French

³⁷ De Noyelles's report in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 224-229, is reprinted in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, pp. 245-261.

³⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 219, 231, 232.

settlers knew and spoke of it as Marin's Fort.³⁹ This tradition unfortunately lacks official confirmation; but that Marin must have been in the Iowa country is clear from the fact that the Sioux called upon him in November, 1737, "at the River of the Swan on the Mississippi". Also, two Fox chiefs came to him to say they were sorry for the recent murder of a French soldier, and that although they were expected to re-kindle their fires at Green Bay, they were doing no wrong by tarrying in the Iowa land, "as we have only come here to provide our families who would meet with hardships elsewhere." Both the Sacs and the Foxes hated to return to their old habitat because, as they told Marin, "there are no longer any Crops, fishing or hunting to be had there, because it is a soil that can no longer produce anything, Being Stained with French blood and with our own."⁴⁰

In May, 1739, fearing a French army, "the Thunder which hangs above our heads ready to Crush us", the allies begged for their lives, but even so some years were to pass before Sieur Marin prevailed upon them to leave the Iowa and Rock River country, influenced also by the prospect of blows from French war-clubs. Thus were the Fox wars closed "by leniency and diplomacy on the part of French officials."⁴¹

During the next few years, while England and France were marshalling forces to stage in the New World one scene of their gigantic death-struggle, the West and especially the upper country lay well-nigh neglected. But Fort

³⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, p. 286; and *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1907, pp. 178, 179, and the map. In footnote 85 in the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 221, the statement is made that Marin was stationed above the mouth of the Rock River in Illinois from 1738 to 1741.

⁴⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVII, pp. 316-320, 324, 339.

⁴¹ *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1907, pp. 180, 185, 186; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 4.

Beauharnois in the Sioux country was once more re-occupied under Sieur Marin. Early in the year 1750 the commandant of Fort Chartres near the mouth of the Missouri River wrote:

Last summer we Had three Frenchmen killed on the Mississippi by the Cyoux, and This autumn another with His Slave on the Rivière des mouens by the petits osages. I have asked the latter for the murderer. I know not what they will decide. We are having Much trouble in our Territories. I know not what the result will be but I hope to avert everything.

The Little Osages had killed a Frenchman by the name of Giguière who was hunting along the upper part of the River Des Moines — they atoned for the crime by sending the murderer's scalp to the French officer. About the same time the "Ayoüas" also dipped their hands in French blood,⁴² as they did again later. To appease French wrath for these murders ten Ioways bore the culprits to Montreal in 1757 and there with several hundreds of tribesmen, Montcalm tells us, they witnessed the grand ceremony of pardoning the offenders.⁴³

Fort Beauharnois was finally abandoned in 1756 so that the troops might participate in the war against England. Indeed, the whole French régime in the upper Mississippi Valley collapsed in 1760 when Beaujeu evacuated the French post at Mackinac in the north. This officer while retiring southward down the Mississippi with four other officers, two cadets, forty-eight soldiers, and seventy-eight militiamen, was stopped by ice and compelled to winter at a village of Sacs and Foxes near the mouth of the Rock River in Illinois. Under such circumstances French troops and

⁴² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33, 59, 60, 62, 86.

⁴³ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 326, 327. The Ioway Indians seem to have hunted all over the Iowa country — these nomads of the prairies are at different times found living in southern Minnesota, and in eastern, western, and southern Iowa.

government officials left much of the Great Valley: French traders, however, were to tarry many years longer, scouring the countryside for the furs and peltries gathered by the Indian tribes.⁴⁴

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⁴⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 221.

FUR TRADE OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN IOWA COUNTRY UNDER THE SPANISH REGIME

As a result of the defeat of French arms by English soldiers and sailors in America and Europe came the evacuation of the Upper Mississippi Valley by French troops.¹ Furthermore, in 1762, one year before the warring nations signed the treaty of peace whereby England won Canada, France by a secret arrangement conveyed to Spain all the vast territory west of the Mississippi River, so that henceforth the Iowa wilderness lay within the jurisdiction of Spanish officials at New Orleans. By this cession of Louisiana to Spain, the French rid themselves of a territory which, by reason of the nearness and commercial rivalry of the English, they had despaired of being able to preserve, and whose possession the greed of French governors and employees had made very burdensome to the government of France.²

But sometime before the Spanish attempted to administer affairs in the new domain, Anglo-Saxons made their appearance in the Valley. As early as 1760 English colonists from the Atlantic coast found their way overland to the Mississippi, and thus preceded British troops: the French in some alarm noted that these "vigilant" English had reached the Rock River and invited the Indian nations to come to trade. Four years later other traders, among them some of Dutch ancestry from Albany, were looking for business in the Wisconsin country. When this region east

¹ See the writer's article in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XII, p. 353.

² Robertson's *Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, Vol. I, p. 296.

of the Mississippi was opened to the English, eager traders from the thirteen colonies lost no time in hastening westward to reap the benefits of English domination.³

JONATHAN CARVER

Among the earliest English visitors to the Mississippi was Jonathan Carver, a traveler or explorer who represented that he was a physician and a captain, though he was only a Yankee shoemaker from Connecticut, with serious fur trade propensities. He arrived, in October, 1766, at Prairie du Chien, which he described as a "great mart, where all the adjacent tribes, and even those who inhabit the remote branches of the Mississippi, annually assemble about the latter end of May, bringing with them their furs to dispose of to the traders." The Indians, he adds, sometimes bore their furs southward or to Mackinac as it suited their interest.

Carver came from Mackinac with a large party of English and Canadian traders, and from Prairie du Chien crossed over to the Iowa shore of the Mississippi. There upon the banks of a little river called by the French "Le Jaun Rivière" and designated upon Carver's map as "Yellow River", they took up their residence for the winter. Carver, however, continued his journey northward by

³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. xvi, 217, 263.

Ignorant of the transfer of the country west of the Mississippi to Spain, many Frenchmen now sought the cover of their flag across the river. Pierre and Auguste Chouteau set up a trading cabin on the site of the present city of St. Louis. Pierre Laclède came in 1764 as the projector of a new fur company and established a station on the same spot. A little later the new settlement of traders was getting Indian trade on the Missouri and on the Mississippi as far north as the Illinois and Wisconsin rivers. There was danger now that all the trade of the Valley would slip away from the English of Canada. "To unsettle this savage regard for their rivals and to rehabilitate this Indian trade so that the seaboard could profit by it, was now a vital question with the English", who soon began to appear in the Valley to wring profits from trade with the natives.—Winsor's *The Mississippi Basin*, p. 433; and Winsor's *Westward Movement*, pp. 23, 24, 25.

canoe, returning in the spring for goods. He seems to have remained in this region for about two years, and certain publishers then gave to the world the results of his travels.⁴

SPAIN AND THE IOWA WILDERNESS

Spanish officials took charge of the affairs of Upper Louisiana in the year 1768. In his instructions to a captain who was to build two forts at the mouth of the Missouri River the first Spanish Governor-General announced that the English (Americans) should not be allowed to come into "his Majesty's territories to trade with the savage tribes", and English subjects should be prevented from entering the Missouri, as well as all other rivers on the right bank of the Mississippi. In May and June, 1769, among the tribes which resorted to the Spanish settlements for trade and presents were the "Ayooua", Sioux, and Sacs and Foxes. Indeed, at the villages near the present site of St. Louis Spanish and French merchants maintained "Magazines" from which they were "enabled with Ease to transport their Merchandise into the interior Parts" of King George's territory to the north, and here some French Canadians even bought their supplies for the Indian trade. English traders were aware that their Spanish neighbors wanted "much to engross all the trade with the Saaks", who seem to have planted a permanent village at the mouth of the Rock River about 1767 in order to prosecute their hunts not only in the Illinois but also in the Iowa country.⁵

PETER POND

Among the English traders of the Upper Mississippi Valley was Peter Pond: the most interesting glimpse of the

⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. xvii; and Carver's *Travels*, pp. 50, 51, 93.

⁵ Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 13, 24, 74; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 290, 291, 299, 300, 305, 306. See also the *Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XVII, p. 316.

Iowa country at this early time has been preserved for us in the narrative of this Yankee from Connecticut. At an early age, as he relates, "the same Inklanation & Sperit that my Ansesters Profest" caused him to become a "Solge" (soldier) and later to go west. Of his experiences in the Far West of that day he wrote a journal the orthography of which, as indicated above, is simply Yankee dialect rendered to suit the tastes of the most advanced advocate of phonetic spelling. Unlettered though he was, Pond somehow acquired a vocabulary by means of which he gave expression to his thoughts and ideas in one of the most remarkable records of early American life in the Great Valley. Traveling by the Fox-Wisconsin waterway late in 1773, he described the Fox Indians,⁶ tarried at one of their villages near the mouth of the Wisconsin, and camped later upon the Iowa shore. To quote his own words:

After Suplying myself with such Artickels as I wanted and they Had to Spare I gave them Sum Creadeat [credit] and Descended the River to the Mouth which emteys into the Masseippey and Cros that River and Incampt. The Land along the River as you desend Appears to be Exalant. Just at Night as we ware Incampt we Per-seaved Large fish Cuming on the Sarfes of the Water. I had then a Diferant trader with me who had a number of Men with him. We were Incampt Near Each other. We Put our Hooch and Lines into the Water and Leat them Ly all nite. In the Morning we Per-seaved thare was fish at the Hoochs and went to the Wattr Eag [water's edge] and halld on our line. Thay Came Heavey. At Length we hald one ashore that wade a Hundered and four Pounds — a Seacond that was One Hundered Wate — a third of Seventy five Pounds. The Men was Glad to Sea this for thay Had not Eat mete for Sum Days nor fish for a long time. We asked our men

⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 330, where he declares:

"They are Insolent to this Day and Inclineing Cheateray thay will if they Can Git Creadit from the trader in the fall of ye Year to pay in the Spring after thay Have Made thare Hunt But When you Mete them in Spring as Know them Personelay ask for your Pay and thay Will Speake in thare One Language if they Speake at all Which is not to be understood or Other ways thay Will Look Sulkey and Make you no answer and you loes your Debt."

How meny Men the Largest would Give a Meale. Sum of the Largest Eaters Sade twelve men Would Eat it at a Meal. We Agread to Give ye fish if thay would find twelve men that would undertake it. They Began to Dres it. The fish was what was Cald the Cat fish. It Had a large flat Head Sixteen Inches Betwene the eise. They Skind it — Cut it up in three large Coppers Such as we have for the Youse of our men. After it was Well Boild thay Sawd it up and all Got Round it. Thay Began and Eat the hole without the least thing with it But Salt and Sum of them Drank of the Licker it was Boild in The Other two was Sarved out to the Remainder of the People who finished them in a Short time. Thay all Declard thay felt the Beater of thare Meale Nor did I Perseave that Eney of them ware Sick or Complained.”

Next morning they recrossed the river to Prairie du Chien where traders, especially Frenchmen, and Indians rendezvoused each fall and spring before they dispersed for the hunt and chase. Pond stayed ten days and dispatched nine clerks in different directions. Of the games played by the French and the Indians and of the life of the town he wrote: “The french Practis Billiards — ye latter Ball. Hear the Botes from New Orleans Cum. They are navigated By thirtey Six men who row as maney oarse. Thay Bring in a Boate Sixtey Hogseats of Wine on one . . . Besides Ham, Chese &c — all to trad with the french & Indans.” Pond reported success in the fur business.⁷

RIVALRY FOR THE TRADE OF THE IOWA COUNTRY

English traders were doing their utmost to win the patronage of all the upper tribes, including the Sacs and Foxes who were now dwelling in villages upon the Upper Mississippi, for in June, 1777, a Spanish official entered into negotiations with the English commandant relative to the surrender of ten Missouri prisoners held by them. Cruzat reported that the Sac and Fox tribes of four hun-

⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 338, 339, 341.

dred and three hundred warriors, respectively, were well inclined toward the Spanish and more favorably disposed to Spanish and French hunters than to those of the English district, notwithstanding the more liberal presents of the English; that the "Hayuas" (Ioways) of two hundred and fifty warriors dwelt eighty leagues from St. Louis "on the shores of the Muen [Des Moines] river", but their hunts brought no money into Spanish pockets because they carried on trade with merchants "who are introducing themselves into that river from the English district"; and that the Sioux, two hundred and thirty leagues away, also bartered their furs for English goods brought to them "by way of the Muen river through the district called Fuzch". The Ioways at that time probably maintained a village near the northwestern corner of Van Buren County about where the town of Iowaville now stands.⁸

These were the years in which England was fighting to put down rebellion in the American colonies, being forced to push the struggle as far west as the Mississippi Valley. In the spring of 1779 C. Gautier, a French-Canadian subject in command of two hundred and eight Indian allies of various tribes, descended the Mississippi from Mackinac in his haste to aid Hamilton in the southern Illinois region. At the Rock River he met with a band of Sacs whose chief stopped up his ears when Gautier spoke on behalf of the British. This chief laughed at the British for threatening to deprive the Sacs and Foxes of their traders if they aided the "Bostoniens" (Americans), and answered that he and all his own warriors held their arrows for the support of the rebels. These Sacs also made Gautier release one hundred and twenty men: "if they had been strong enough they would have seized me and given me over to the Bos-

⁸ Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 134, 136, 145, 146; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 363, 364, 365. The writer has discovered no clue to the origin of the name "Fuzch".

tonias." Gautier had not gone far when news came of the capture of Hamilton by General Clark and the Americans.⁹

The Spanish policy of excluding English traders from Spanish territory became more and more impracticable: the Governor of Upper Louisiana domiciled at St. Louis in 1770 informed his superior, Bernardo de Galvez of New Orleans, that Fort San Carlos at the mouth of the Missouri River had outlived its usefulness and that "it would be advisable to establish another fort at the entrance of the Mua [Des Moines] river", because English traders followed the course of this stream and thus penetrated with comparative ease to the headwaters of the Missouri. De Galvez answered that the Crown could not spare a garrison of two hundred men for the purpose, but that he would lay the proposition "before His Majesty so that he may determine what may be his royal pleasure." And he added: "I charge Your Grace meanwhile to endeavor to prevent the English from entering said rivers, and to see to it that they do not entice our Indians, this being a matter that is so straitly charged in the instructions carried by Your Grace."¹⁰

During the year 1779 Spain declared war against England — at a time, therefore, when the latter's American colonies were waging war for independence. In the struggle for peltries Mackinac traders had suffered many injuries at the hands of the Spaniards who were only trying to maintain their share of commerce with the Indians. To kill two birds with one stone the English commandant at Mackinac planned an expedition against Spanish St. Louis and the American rebel George Rogers Clark. That the ripples of the American Revolution reached the Iowa country and that the English troops stooped to wring aid from

⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 126.

¹⁰ Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, p. 166.

the Indian tribes are facts which may be gathered from a letter written by an educated French trader, Pierre Provost, who informed Clark early in 1780 that British Indians had brought "two collars and two Bostonnise [American] scalps" to intimidate the Sacs and the Foxes. The allied tribes postponed their answer until after a meeting "at the River des mouins" with a certain Joseph Calvé, "a Trader and an employee in the Service of the King for the tribesmen". Provost further reported to Clark that the Mackinac traders "at the River des Moins tell the Savages that they regard you As The meanest of wretches saying everything against you . . . and advising the Savages to Pillage".¹¹

Seven hundred and fifty men — traders, servants, and Indians — proceeded down the Wisconsin to Prairie du Chien where they were joined by several traders at the head of Indian bands. In April, 1780, an American trader's armed barge-load of goods and provisions with twelve men was seized and plundered off the mouth of Turkey River on the Iowa side. At the lead mines seventeen Spaniards and rebels were made prisoners. English traders were promised the exclusive trade of the Missouri, but the Sacs, "who have been debauched by the Rebels on account of their lead mines, & by the Traders in their country," and other Indian allies deserted the expedition so that the proposed attack on St. Louis proved to be little more than a useless foray.¹²

Cruzat complained late in 1780 that the "Aioas" (Ioways), doubtless excited by the English, had corrupted the Otoes of the Nebraska country, and that, as the English

¹¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 404-406. Joseph Calvé was a trader employed by the British as military agent among the Sacs and Foxes. On account of his treachery the English called their expedition to St. Louis "a sham attack". See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 109, 134, 154, 155.

¹² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 151, 152, 154, 155, 156.

gave so many presents to all the tribes, they obtained whatever they wanted, and accordingly the Spanish could not compete with them on even terms. The Sacs surrendered thirteen British medals and three banners and got sixteen Spanish medals and ten flags in return; while the Foxes asked to be taken under the protection of the Spanish flag.¹³

The Spanish Governor at St. Louis received instructions in 1781 "to keep Mounsieur Boucher de Mombrun, with a detachment of forty militiamen, on the Misisipi among the Sac tribe forty leagues from that village, . . . in order to observe the movements of the enemy and to win the affection of the tribes". The place referred to here was no doubt the Sac village just above the mouth of the Des Moines River near the present town of Montrose. That de Monbruen served his Spanish masters with "valor, zeal, and experience" for several years at this post may be gathered from a complaint of the English in 1783: "There is a Mr. Moumbourne Bouché, a Canadian in the Mississippi with a Gang of Moroders, whom annoy the Traders very much, by exacting Goods &c. He is Commissioned by the Spaniards". Even so, some five hundred Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways had visited the English as Mackinac.¹⁴

Trade with the Indians continued to be the chief occupation of a large part of the population of St. Louis after the American colonies established a government independent of the mother country. The fact that many traders and hunters of His Catholic Majesty, the King of Spain, engaged Americans or at least persons residing east of the

¹³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 414, 419, 422, 423, 424; and Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 175, 199, 202, 203.

¹⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 419, 422; and Vol. XII, pp. 60, 66. See Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 198, 201. Some Canadians were on the point of deserting their English superiors to join De Monbruen when their plot was discovered.

Mississippi evoked an ordinance prohibiting this practice and providing a penalty of a fortnight in prison and a fine of fifty pounds of peltries. The Mackinac Company and the North West Company, organized about 1784, consisted of practically the same British firms but the former operated almost entirely south and west of Lake Michigan in American territory, reaching also the Indian tribes of Spanish Louisiana in the Iowa country, especially upon the Des Moines River. In 1786 the English reported that war between the allied Sacs and Foxes and the Sioux brought so much harm to the "Furr Trade" that presents only could buy off the combatants. Sometime before 1792 the Spanish Governor-General asserted that the only way to keep the English out of the country was to construct "two strong posts on the Mouis and San Pedro Rivers". Later the Spaniards expected to gain much from friendly relations with the Ioways, the Sacs, and the Foxes, because these tribes could prevent English traders from using the Des Moines and also keep the Osages of the Missouri country from resorting to the traders on this river.¹⁵

Such was the rapid advance of the restless Americans westward, and so well known were their habits of adapting themselves to life in the wilderness that Baron de Carondelet in his military report of 1794 declared: "A general revolution . . . threatens Spain in America, unless it apply a powerful and speedy remedy." All signs indicated that American ambition centered upon the free navigation of the Mississippi and the rich fur trade of the Missouri. And so the Governor of Louisiana proposed a very extensive plan for the fortification and defence of the

¹⁵ Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 248, 332, and Vol. II, p. 50; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 77, 78, 80, 85, and Vol. XVIII, pp. 439, 441. The North West Company is frequently mentioned when the Mackinac Company is meant as in the *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, Vol. III, p. 170.

colony from New Orleans to the source of the Great River. For the protection of the industrious merchants of St. Louis and to secure them in an immense fur trade with the Missouri River nations against the English subjects of Canada "who usurp that trade and daily introduce themselves in greater number upon said river and among the nations living near it", Carondelet recommended a strong stockade. With reference to the Iowa country he urged the following plan:

A fort garrisoned by fifty men on the St. Pierre [St. Peter's] River, which is one hundred and twenty leagues from St. Louis, and another fort on the Des Moines River, forty leagues from the said St. Louis, could entirely cut off all communication of the English with the savage nations of the west bank of the Mississippi, and of the Missouri—a trade so rich that notwithstanding the enormous distance of five hundred and more leagues of wilderness to cross with their merchandise and the furs which they receive in exchange, the London companies which engage in it do not fail to reap profits of a hundred per cent.

If the two forts above mentioned were established, many settlers would flock to their vicinities, both from our settlements and from Canada, and the banks of the Ohio. Within a few years they would have several posts in those districts more populous than that of St. Louis at present, and could serve to protect the part of Louisiana higher on the Missouri from the usurpation of the English and Americans.

I consider that if four companies be detached from the battalion of New Madrid for St. Louis, and from which detachments would be provided for the St. Pierre and Moine [Des Moines] Rivers, they would suffice to cause the dominion of Spain to be respected throughout Upper Louisiana. And should his Majesty consider it proper for those detachments to be recruited from foreigners who should offer to serve five years in them provided that a constant ration be promised them, and who should be married or should marry and devote themselves to the cultivation of the soil for another five years during which they would be compelled to serve as militiamen, I am convinced that that battalion would always be

full. That would obviate the great difficulties and save the great expenses necessary to transport the troops by the river to places so remote.¹⁶

Despite this enthusiastic recommendation nothing seems to have been done by the Spanish government to impress English Canadian subjects with the strength of Spain's rights in the territory west of the Mississippi. In 1794, however, Andrew Todd, a "young and robust Irishman", obtained from Baron de Carondelet a grant to carry on the exclusive trade of all the upper Mississippi. He had been operating from Mackinac in Spanish territory and his goods had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards who promptly confiscated them as contraband. Todd, in his attempt to recover these goods or the proceeds, won such influence over Spanish officials that they were persuaded to give him the exclusive trade privilege in return for a duty of six per cent.

Carondelet hoped that Todd's competition with English traders from Montreal would force the latter out of the upper country altogether. In two years' time "Don Andreas" sent a vast quantity of goods up from New Orleans and got back furs and peltries for the export trade. He also proposed "to enlist young men in Canada for his company, and at the end of their enlistment it was supposed that they would remain in the Spanish settlements, and thus an increase of the population would be secured" for Louisiana; but Todd fell a victim to the yellow fever in 1796,¹⁷ and so English and Canadian traders were once more practically alone in the field. In 1796, James Mackay, a Scotchman,

¹⁶ Robertson's *Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, Vol. I, pp. 298, 299, 335-337. English merchants even attracted the Omaha Indians to the St. Peter's River. See Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, pp. 187, 191.

¹⁷ Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 255; and Houck's *History of Missouri*, Vol. I, pp. 330, 331.

made a voyage of discovery up the Missouri for the newly-organized Spanish Commercial Company of St. Louis and among other things reported:

The traders of the River Monigona [Des Moines] have sent twelve horses laden with goods to trade with the Panis [Pawnees] and the Layos [Loups] on the Chato [Platte] River. The caravan crossed the Misuri in the month of last December. I would be glad to be able to deal them a blow on their return.¹⁸

War broke out again between Spain and England late in the year 1796: Carlos Howard, an Irishman in the Spanish service, got orders to defend St. Louis against a threatened attack by British forces and also to send a reconnoitering party up the Mississippi to destroy and capture English trading canoes, "the goods in which may be divided, half to the king, and half to those who compose the expedition." In the spring of 1797 an Englishman reported that English traders at Prairie du Chien "were nearly pillaged by the Saques & Renards headed by some Traders from St. Louis with authority from the Spanish Commandant of that place". Two years later these same Indians appeared at Amherstburgh, Canada, to convince the English of their unshaken attachment and of the injustice of the reports.¹⁹

SPANISH LAND GRANTS IN THE IOWA COUNTRY

Closely connected with the history of Spain's attempt to exclude all but Spanish subjects of Louisiana from trade with the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River, indeed as an assertion of Spain's dominion over this vast fur-bearing region, was the Spanish policy of granting tracts of land to private individuals to promote settlement and cultivation.²⁰ In the Iowa country which lay in Upper

¹⁸ Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 191.

¹⁹ Houck's *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 128; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 107, and Vol. XVIII, pp. 449, 457.

²⁰ See Pelzer's *The Spanish Land Grants of Upper Louisiana* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 3-37.

Louisiana Spanish officials made some grants which later formed the basis of the first land titles.

A French-Canadian, Julien Dubuque, had prevailed upon several Fox chiefs to permit him to live among them and work certain lead mines. For eight years he and his men labored industriously, but realizing that the Indian grant of land in Spanish domain might not fully establish him in this rich lead district, Dubuque applied to the Spanish Governor-General in 1796 for a formal recognition and confirmation of his rights. As "your Excellency's very humble, and very obedient, and very submissive servant", Dubuque begged Carondelet for the peaceable possession of a strip of land about twenty-one miles in length along the Mississippi and nine miles wide, in what is now Dubuque County: to this tract he had given the name, he alleged, "of the 'Mines d'Espagne,' in memory of the government to which he belonged."²¹

Upon the receipt of this petition Carondelet turned for information to Don Andreas Todd, the Irishman who then held the sole privilege of trading with the tribes in Upper Louisiana. This merchant gave answer that so far as he was concerned, he saw no reason why the Governor-General should not comply with Dubuque's request, provided "the grantee shall observe the provisions of his Majesty relating to the trade with the Indians; and that this be absolutely prohibited to him, unless he shall have my consent in writing." The grant was accordingly made subject to these restrictions²² and Dubuque continued in possession until his death in the year 1810.

²¹ Dubuque's petition may be found in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 678.

²² *United States Supreme Court Reports*, 16 Howard, 224. The question whether Julien Dubuque obtained merely peaceable possession or absolute ownership was decided many years later in favor of the former contention, though the United States Land Commissioners in 1806 judged Dubuque's claim to be a complete Spanish grant.

Don Carlos Dehault Delassus, Lieutenant Governor of Louisiana, made a grant of 6808½ arpents, or about 5860 acres, to Basil Giard, a French-Canadian friend of Julien Dubuque. This man erected cabins upon the site of the present city of McGregor in Clayton County, opposite the old village of Prairie du Chien. On this tract six miles long, east and west, and one mile and a half wide, Giard seems to have dwelt: part of it he had under cultivation from 1796 to 1808.²³ Like Julien Dubuque he no doubt carried on profitable trade with the Sioux and Sacs and Foxes who then hunted in the Iowa country.

More can be told of the Spanish grant of the 30th of March, 1799, to Louis Honoré or Tesson. Zenon Trudeau gave him permission to make a settlement within Sac and Fox territory upon 7056 arpents of land, on the site of the present town of Montrose in Lee County. This permit, translated from the French, reads as follows:

Mr. Louis Honoré is permitted to settle at the head of the rapids of the River Des Moines, and having effected his establishment he will write to the Governor General to obtain the concession of a suitable area in order to validate said establishment, and at the same time to make him useful in the trade in peltries in that country, to watch the savages and to keep them in the fealty which they owe His Majesty; his conduct in this respect is to serve him as a recommendation to be favored by the Government in such a way as to let him have the benefit of whatever he may do to contribute to the increase of the commerce in which he is to participate; and in that respect he will be permitted to treat with all the savages who dwell upon that bank of His Majesty's domain, and to permit

²³ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 332. Delassus made the concession to Giard in November, 1800, and the United States Board of Land Commissioners confirmed the grant in 1816. About this time Giard died, leaving two daughters Lizette and Mary and a granddaughter, Felicite, the child of Angelie Suppiennee Giard. The land which descended to them later became involved in the courts as the result of conflicting conveyances. Not until July 2, 1844, was the grant patented by the United States government. See 5 *Iowa Reports*, 97, 98; and *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 256, p. 14.

no other trader as competitor except he have a passport signed by our hand.

Tesson built cabins, cultivated a small patch, planted an orchard of apple trees, and lived upon his claim from 1798 until 1805, but sometime during these years his estate was sold under an execution and came into the hands of an assignee, Joseph Robidoux, as the following document shows:

By virtue of the orders received from Mr. Charles Dehault Delassus, lieutenant colonel of His Catholic Majesty's armies and lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, and in the capacity of attorney for Mr. Joseph Robidoux, and in the presence of two attending witnesses, Pierre Dorion and Louis Millet, I went to the house of Mr. Louis Tesson, alias Honore, about six leagues above the river "des *Modens*", and in his presence I have seized, &c.

When Robidoux died in 1810, all his property was disposed of at the church door in St. Louis, and Thomas F. Riddick became the owner of what he believed to be a square league of land. His heirs in 1839, however, secured a United States government patent for only six hundred and forty acres, which is said to be the oldest land-title document in the State of Iowa.²⁴

Another Spanish land grant was claimed by Julien Dubuque before his death in 1810: he produced a concession of Delassus to François Cayolle, dated August 13, 1799, and Cayolle's deed of conveyance of 7056 arpents of land situated just north of Giard's "between the mouth of a river Jaune [Yellow] and another river [Bloody Run] which empties in the Mississippi about one league lower down

²⁴ See Salter's *Iowa: The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase*, pp. 46, 47; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 345; and *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, No. 256, p. 13. The fact that the United States confirmed Spanish grants to Giard and Tesson was later urged as a reason why Dubuque's claim also should be recognized.

For the documents translated from the French see *House Documents*, 3rd Session, 27th Congress, No. 38, pp. 42, 43.

said Mississippi, so as the said tract make a quantity equal to a league square, but to include both rivers". Two witnesses testified that they had seen a large house and a garden upon this land for eight or nine years, but despite Dubuque's evidence the Board of Land Commissioners at St. Louis decided to reject the claim. A similar fate befell the claims of William Russell of St. Louis to 700 arpents of land somewhere between Jefferson, Missouri, and old Fort Madison, and two tracts of 1200 arpents and 800 arpents somewhere between old Fort Madison and the Spanish Mines.²⁵

Private traders with small log cabins or stockades no doubt were many at this early day, but Giard, Tesson, and Dubuque, so far as is known, were the only settlers with definite habitations in the Iowa solitude. Back to the Spanish grants to Giard and Tesson reach the chains of title of many real estate owners in Clayton and Lee counties to-day. Despite the efforts of other claimants no further Spanish grants in the Iowa country could be proved to the satisfaction of the United States Land Commissioners and the federal Supreme Court.

Such were features of the contest waged between Spain and England as rivals for the control of the fur-bearing region of the Upper Mississippi, especially to the westward. Moreover, the youthful government of the United States in 1798 was said to covet Florida and Louisiana — Spain's property, and the acquisition of this territory was declared to be an ambition "fathered by the English" who

²⁵ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 451, and Vol. III, pp. 364, 369. Russell based his right and title to 312 tracts of land upon Spanish and French grants and conveyances from the original claimants. He succeeded in getting only thirty of his claims confirmed — as to the remainder he could prove no acts of ownership.

As the reader may judge, information about the Spanish land grants and their first settlers is very meager indeed: the whole story is yet to be told.

saw in it an extension of commercial glory. Consequently, Spanish officials in the West anticipated an Anglo-American alliance and another war, and so the home government at Madrid had reason to hand Louisiana back to France in 1800.²⁶

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²⁶ Robertson's *Louisiana under Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807*, Vol. I, p. 350.

THE PRIVATE LAND CLAIMS OF THE OLD NORTHWEST TERRITORY¹

The successive jurisdictions of France and Great Britain over the Old Northwest Territory yielded a mass of private land claims which necessitated many years of Congressional attention and action. Over this area Virginia had long asserted its claim and when surrender of the region was made in 1784 the deed of cession stipulated that "the French and Canadian inhabitants, and other settlers of the Kaskaskies, St. Vincents, and the neighboring villages, who have professed themselves citizens of Virginia, shall have their possessions and titles confirmed to them, and be protected in the enjoyment of their rights and liberties."²

Colonization of this region had long been contemplated and when the United States acquired jurisdiction over the area in 1783 by the Treaty of Paris the whole question of a land system became an important one. Various land companies were in the field early petitioning for surveys and sales.³ But until the foreign titles should be estimated and located there would be obstacles to exposing land to public sales.

Early in 1784 Congress was considering the petition of Colonel George Morgan from New Jersey who asked that the conflicting claims of States to the western lands be adjusted and that he be given a clear title to certain lands upon the Ohio River.⁴ A year later (February, 1785) Con-

¹ In the preparation of this article acknowledgments are due to Treat's *The National Land System 1785-1820*.

² Printed in Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, pp. 68, 69.

³ Treat's *The National Land System 1785-1820*, pp. 201, 202.

⁴ *Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV, pp. 341, 342.

gress voted to appoint one or more commissioners who should repair to the Illinois settlements.⁵

A report on Colonel Morgan's petition was adopted on June 20, 1788. At Kaskaskia, the committee reported, there were about eighty families at the beginning of the Revolution; about fifty at Cahokia; twelve at Prairie du Rocher, and smaller settlements at Fort Chartres and St. Philip's. A tract of land was set aside and from this each family was to be granted four hundred acres, provided the settler professed himself a citizen of the United States during or before the year 1783. Such donations could not be alienated until after three years' residence thereon. The final resolution directed the Governor of the Northwest Territory (Arthur St. Clair) to examine all titles and lay off the claims at the expense of the grantees.⁶

Similar provisions were adopted for the French settlers at Post St. Vincents.⁷ A square tract adjoining the post was to be laid off with an area sufficient for completing donations of four hundred acres for each head of a family. The Governor of the Northwest Territory was again directed to execute these resolves of Congress.⁸

Owing, however, to the absence of Governor St. Clair, the Secretary of the Territory, Winthrop Sargent, carried out these provisions and communicated his report to the President on July 31, 1790. "The original concessions by the French and British commandants were generally made upon a small scrap of paper, which it had been customary to lodge in the notary's office who has seldom kept any book of record, but committed the most important land concerns to

⁵ *Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV, p. 473. It does not appear, however, that any commissioner was ever elected or sent to the Illinois settlements.

⁶ *Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV, pp. 823-825.

⁷ Among the various names given to this settlement are: The Post, Au Post, Old Post, Post Vincents, Vincennes, and Post Vincennes.

⁸ *Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV, pp. 858, 859.

loose sheets, which, in process of time, have come into the possession of persons that have fraudulently destroyed them, or unacquainted with their consequence, innocently lost or trifled them away: for, by the French usage, they are considered as family inheritance, and often descend to women and children."⁹

Several petitions were presented to Sargent. One was signed by eighty Americans who had come to Vincennes with every assurance of the authority of the court at Vincennes to make grants; a similar memorial came from French inhabitants; another prayed for the confirmation of a commons of about 5400 acres; and a fourth was signed by one hundred and thirty-one Canadians,¹⁰ French, and Americans who had settled after 1783 but who had performed, or were offering to perform, military services.

Secretary Sargent found that there were one hundred and forty-four heads of families who had settled at Vincennes prior to 1783 and who were entitled to lands. To the priest, Francis Vigo, several lots were given; a lot of twenty-five toises square was granted to Louis St. Aubin; other lots of various sizes, went to these simple peasants and gave to the region an aspect of feudal, medieval land tenure.

Governor St. Clair's report of February 10, 1791,¹¹ revealed a chaotic condition of land tenures in the Illinois settlements. Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Fort Chartres, and Prairie du Rocher were visited. Claims were based upon purchases; some French and Americans had secured grants from John Todd and Demunbrunt, lieutenants of Virginia in the Illinois country. In other cases titles were derived from the local courts; while some of the ancient residents based their claims upon long possession and residence,

⁹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 9-11.

¹⁰ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 10.

¹¹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 18-22.

although very few grants had been made by the French in fee simple. And finally, a Kaskaskia chief requested confirmation of title to a tract of five or six thousand acres.

Grants made by the Virginia agents St. Clair declared to be "without number", and were disallowed, as were those made by the civil courts. In the case of bona fide settlers upon such grants the Governor recommended the right of preëmption. Orders of survey were issued for all claims at Kaskaskia which appeared to be well founded. But surveyors were scarce and the inhabitants objected to paying for the surveys. The report of St. Clair showed a state of unfinished business upon the Mississippi settlements.

Secretary Sargent's report urged legislation to cover the following cases at Vincennes: persons who had removed from one post to another and thereby found themselves outside the letter of the first Congressional resolution; persons who became heads of families after 1783 and who urged former performance of military duties; lands bought from the Piankashaws and parcelled out and improved since 1783; 48,000 acres granted by the local courts prior to 1787; and a commons held by the people under the French, the British, and the American governments.

Responding to the suggestions in these two reports Congress passed a law¹² (March 3, 1791) intended to settle the private claims at Vincennes and in the Illinois country. Four hundred acres were to be granted to all persons who were the heads of families in 1783, notwithstanding any removal to some other village or to other territory. One hundred and fifty acres formerly held by the Piankeshaw Indians were granted to the persons cultivating and holding the tract. The Governor of the Northwest Territory was empowered to confirm all grants derived from any commandant or court, provided the land had actually been

¹² *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 1st Congress, Appendix, pp. 2413-2415.

improved and cultivated. Moreover, a commons of about 5400 acres was appropriated to the use of the village of Vincennes and smaller areas were likewise granted to the villages of Cohos and Prairie du Pont.

One hundred acres were to be given to all persons who had not yet received grants and who on August 1, 1790, were enrolled in the militia at Vincennes or in the Illinois country. Two priests, Pierre Gibault and St. Jam Beauvais, were granted tracts respectively at Cahokia and Kaskaskia. The donations were to be included in the three parallelograms described in the act of June 20, 1788.¹³

The execution of this law was suspended by threatened dangers in the Northwest Territory. In 1791 Indians had attacked the settlement near Cahokia and a council with them, planned by St. Clair to be held at Vincennes, had failed. St. Clair hastened to the headquarters of General Joseph Harmar, leaving the execution of the law at Vincennes to Secretary Sargent. Surveyors were few and were fleeing from the smouldering dangers of Indian uprisings which soon burst into flames.¹⁴

Indian wars now became the absorbing occupation of Governor St. Clair in the Northwest Territory. General Harmar's indecisive march was followed by the campaign and disastrous defeat of St. Clair's army in 1791. General Wayne's campaign, however, in 1793 and 1794 resulted in the defeat of the assembled Indians and marked the end of forty years of Indian warfare in the Ohio Valley.¹⁵

With the signing of the Treaty of Greenville on August 3, 1795,¹⁶ and the evacuation of the northwestern posts by the

¹³ *Journals of Congress*, Vol. IV, pp. 823-825.

¹⁴ Governor St. Clair's report to the Senate dated January 7, 1799, and printed in the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 90, 91.

¹⁵ These campaigns are graphically described in Roosevelt's *The Winning of the West* (Standard Library Edition), Vol. IV, Chapters I, II.

¹⁶ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 562, 563.

British in July, 1796, the land question again assumed commanding importance. Large additional areas received the population drift from the East. In May, 1796, a comprehensive land act was passed which revived the important principles of the land ordinance of 1785. This law in turn was superseded by the law of May 10, 1800,¹⁷ which in many ways stands as the magna charta in the long list of Congressional acts relating to the disposal of the public domain.

These events, of course, impeded the adjustment of foreign land titles in the Northwest Territory. Secretary Sargent writing in 1798 stated that for the district of Vincennes he had confirmed about 22,572 acres derived from the French and English and from the extra-legal courts of Virginia. The total donations by Congress amounted to 103,800 acres.¹⁸

Governor St. Clair in January of the next year plead for a liberal interpretation of the law of 1791:¹⁹ small improvements should be taken into consideration as well as the large ones, because often the inhabitants had been intercepted in their work or driven off by the Indians. The intention of the settler should be given weight. "Many lost their lives," declared the Governor, "and their widows and children have little left except their claim to that land which the loss of the husband or the father prevented the cultivation of. That it would be impossible for the Governor to do perfect justice; and, even if he could do justice strictly, he would not escape the charge of partiality, when exercising a discretionary power." On August 12, 1800, he had confirmed in the Illinois country and at Vincennes, titles

¹⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. II, pp. 73-78.

¹⁸ Report of Governor Winthrop Sargent of the Southwestern Territory dated March 18, 1798, and printed in the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 84.

¹⁹ Report of Governor St. Clair to the Senate dated January 7, 1799, and printed in the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 90, 91.

to lands which aggregated 30,000 acres. This act was void, however, because by the establishment of Indiana Territory (July 4, 1800) his powers over that region had ceased.²⁰

Meanwhile speculation and fraud were stalking about Vincennes according to Governor Henry Harrison's report early in January of 1802. There a court presuming to act under the authority of the State of Virginia had made itself monarch of all it surveyed. A vast region to which the Indian title was supposed or alleged to be extinguished was parcelled out by the members of the court to themselves. Each member modestly absented himself from the court on the day on which an order was made in his favor. Although this farce was soon realized by the would-be grantees a considerable amount of land was sold, "one thousand acres being frequently given for an indifferent horse or a rifle gun." Then, too, papers purporting to be deeds to lands were peddled out to speculators as well as to bona fide purchasers. To such practices the Governor was determined to put a stop.²¹

Pursuant to instructions from the Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, the Indian agent at Detroit, C. Jouett, made a report in July, 1803, descriptive of the lands and settlers in the vicinity of Detroit.²² Canadian French settlers predominated and their titles were based upon purchases from the Indians, long possession, grants from French officials and commandants, and donations by British military officers. The farms, a few of which were held in fee simple, ranged in size from one hundred to four hundred arpents.

For Detroit the charter of Louis XIV, reported Jouett, was "for fifteen acres square" while the houses were for

²⁰ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 371.

²¹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 123.

²² *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 190-193.

the most part, "low and inelegant." At the River Raisin settlement there were one hundred and twenty-one families; while Gros Isle was cultivated by ten farmers. The estate of Patrick Sinclair containing 3759 acres was settled and claimed by about twenty farmers. These facts indicate the confused condition of titles to the land of this region.

Responding again to the exigencies of the situation, Congress passed the act of March 26, 1804.²³ Land offices were established at Detroit, Vincennes, and Kaskaskia, and a Register and a Receiver of Public Moneys were provided for each office. The law noted three groups of claims: (1) Those emanating from the French government prior to February 10, 1763; (2) British grants made between February 10, 1763, and September 3, 1783; and (3) those grants based upon legislation by Congress. It was required that all such claims be filed with the Register on or before January 1, 1805.

The Register and the Receiver for each district were to constitute the board of commissioners to examine these claims. The usual powers of compelling the attendance of witnesses and of administering oaths were given the commissioners who were to begin their sessions not later than January 1, 1805. The clerk of the board was to file transcripts of all decisions with the Surveyor-General and with the Secretary of the Treasury. The final decision upon claims favorably reported by the board was to be made by Congress.

The report of the Commissioners for the Detroit district (December, 1805) was only preliminary and descriptive of the agrarian condition about Detroit.²⁴ Thirty distinct settlements founded between 1763 and 1801 and containing four hundred and forty-two farms were listed. The report

²³ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 8th Congress, Appendix, pp. 1285-1293.

²⁴ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 266-270.

complained about the ignorance and inertia of these French peasants and, "as they never do that to-day which can be delayed until to-morrow," not five per cent of the claims were filed until the very last moment allowed by law.

Seven groups of claims briefly described were given: first, two claims emanating from Antoine de Lamothe Cadillac, who acted under instructions from the King of France; secondly, six grants made by the Governor and Intendant of New France and Louisiana and later confirmed by the French King; thirdly, fifteen such grants made between 1734 and 1754 but not confirmed by the King; fourthly, grants made originally by French commandants or continued or augmented from those first made by the Governor or Intendant; fifthly, about one hundred claims derived from the British government; sixthly, grants made by the Indians and contrary to the law in the Proclamation of 1763; and seventhly, about four hundred claims based upon actual settlement and improvement.

Long delayed reports from these boards of commissioners for the various districts and subsequent legislation by Congress constitute the later history of these claims, which, like pension rolls, increased as time wore on. It is the purpose to review in detail and in order the claims (1) at Kaskaskia, (2) at Vincennes, and (3) in Michigan Territory.

KASKASKIA CLAIMS AND CONFIRMATIONS

The Kaskaskia Commissioners reported in February, 1806, that it would be impossible for them to make a return before Congress adjourned and that the business of the district exceeded that of Vincennes and Detroit combined. The board requested that a surveyor be sent to the Illinois country at once and that he be empowered to settle disputes.²⁵ By a law of March 3rd of the next year the board

²⁵ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 285, 286.

was allowed until December 1, 1807, to complete the investigation of unsettled claims.²⁶

For the third time the Commissioners at Kaskaskia stated (December 1, 1807) that they were not yet ready to report. Fraud, perjury, and loose management on the part of Governors and surveyors had produced a "very mire and filth of corruption". Seven hundred false depositions came from Upper Louisiana and claims to 16,000 acres were rejected when the claimants confessed their falsity.²⁷

Years of tedious investigations followed and it was not until February 24, 1810, that the Kaskaskia board made a report.²⁸ There were four species of claims upon which the board found it necessary to act.

First, those based on ancient grants, or allotments derived from former governments or from the Indians. The board regarded that there were no bona fide grants emanating from the Indians or the government of Great Britain, while the chaotic character of the French grants forced the board to admit oral evidence. About forty claims in this group were rejected and about twenty-two were affirmed by the board.

Secondly, those based on a grant or a donation of four hundred acres to each of those who were heads of families in the county at or after the treaty with Great Britain in 1783. Perjury, insufficient proof, and other causes induced the board to reject about three hundred and fifty claims in this class, while about two hundred and fifty the board saw fit to affirm.

Thirdly, those of persons who had actually cultivated and improved the soil under a supposed grant of some court or commandant. About five hundred claims were rejected on account of forgery, fraud, insufficient proof, or

²⁶ *Annals of Congress*, 2nd Session, 9th Congress, pp. 1290-1292.

²⁷ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 590, 591.

²⁸ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 102-148.

failure to improve or cultivate. The confirmations in this group were eighty-nine in number.

Fourthly, those grants to persons who had been enrolled in the militia service on August 1, 1790. The imperfect condition of the militia rolls rendered this task difficult and the board rejected eighty-nine such claims and confirmed about two hundred and seventy claims of one hundred acres each. These claims were liberally construed in favor of those giving evidence of former service.

A rather deplorable moral condition was revealed in the considerable mass of testimony taken by the board. Forgery was detected and perjury was common. "We close this melancholy picture of human depravity," concluded the Commissioners, "by rendering our devout acknowledgments that, in the awful alternative in which we have been placed, of either admitting perjured testimony in support of the claims before us, or having it turned against our character and lives, it has, as yet, pleased that Divine Providence which rules over the affairs of men, to preserve us both from legal murder and private assassination."²⁹

Congressional confirmation of these claims was secured in the act of May 1, 1810.³⁰ Two groups of claims, however, were made the subject of Congressional investigation, as they came from the Kaskaskia Commissioners. Jeremiah Morrow was then the chairman of the House Committee on Public Lands and on February 15, 1811, his committee recommended that the Commissioners' reports on the town lots, common fields, and allotments at Kaskaskia, Grand Prairie, Prairie du Rocher, Fort Chartres, St. Philip's, Prairie du Pont, and Cahokia be confirmed. The grants made by the Governors of the Northwest Territory, however, declared the committee, should be re-examined.³¹

²⁹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, p. 104.

³⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 2nd Session, 11th Congress, p. 2584.

³¹ See *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 220, 221, 223, 224.

“The multifarious duties imposed on these officers, in their capacity as Governor, Indian agent, and in one instance of commander-in-chief, did not allow them the time necessary for the full investigation of the claims presented for their decision.”

In response to Representative Morrow's suggestions a law was approved on February 20, 1812,³² whereby the common lots, common fields, and allotments confirmed by the board were approved by Congress. At the same time the Kaskaskia board was directed to inquire into the validity of claims to land in the district of Kaskaskia which had arisen from confirmations by the Governor of the Northwest Territory or of Indiana Territory.

From July 13th to about December, 1812, the board, composed of Michael Jones, John Caldwell and Thomas Sloo, met at Kaskaskia where hundreds of depositions were taken. A detailed report of the testimony obtained and of their findings was made on January 4, 1813, to the Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin.³³

Fifteen claims arising from confirmations by Governors St. Clair and Harrison were approved. One hundred and seven improvement claims were recommended; one hundred and fifty-four confirmations were based on former donations to the heads of families; militia donations to the number of about two hundred were approved; and sixteen other claims growing out of the above groups were likewise confirmed. On January 18, 1813, the board recommended thirty-one additional claims based on donations to heads of families, militia grants, and improvement rights.

Large numbers of claims had of course been rejected by the Commissioners and it was with a sense of disgust that Commissioner Jones said in his final report:

³² *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 12th Congress, pp. 2237, 2238.

³³ The detailed minutes of the Commissioners' meetings are found in the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 181-208, 613-615.

A confirmation of these [thirty-one claims] and there will be an end to this perplexing business; unless, indeed, the Government should indulge the speculators with the privilege of a re-investigation of claims rejected by the former Board. On this subject I can only observe, that I am wearied with these painful duties, which, for eight years past, it has fallen to my lot to discharge. Nor do I believe that the Government would be doing justice to itself, or its officers by extending this indulgence. When witnesses have been suborned, when the ancient records have been recently interpolated, and when the officers who dared to discharge their solemn duty have been attempted to be made the victims of this corruption, it is time to close the doors against the admission of new frauds.³⁴

Congressional confirmation of the claims (approved on January 4 and 18, 1813) was made by the act of April 16, 1814.³⁵ A large tract on the Mississippi was set apart to satisfy the unlocated claims contemplated in this act, and until October 1, 1814, former residents were to enjoy pre-emption privileges for six hundred and forty acres or less. After that date and until May 1, 1815, the balance of the tract was to be exposed to the possessors of confirmed and unlocated claims.

By this time it would seem that a full and final settlement had been made of the Kaskaskia claims. But speculators, agents, attorneys, and parties who had failed to file their claims in due time, had been busy. The Commissioners at Kaskaskia in November, 1815, made another report³⁶ with an accompanying list of approved claims. "Should these be confirmed," advised the Commissioners, "it will relieve the Government from the importunity of the claimants, and render unnecessary the reorganization of a new board."

Congressional confirmation of the Commissioners' report

³⁴ This report with accompanying lists of confirmations is printed in the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 613-615.

³⁵ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 13th Congress, pp. 2833-2835.

³⁶ This report may be found in *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, pp. 1-5.

was made in the act of April 26, 1816.³⁷ This law confirmed the balance upon twenty-four old improvement claims which originally had been for less than four hundred acres; it confirmed likewise one militia donation, two improvement claims which had been submitted too late for a former report, and seventeen donations for the heads of families. These confirmed claims were made receivable (until October 1, 1816) for lands to be located in the reserve set apart by Congress on April 16, 1814.

VINCENNES CLAIMS AND CONFIRMATIONS

Somewhat similar though less complicated is the history of the private land claims in the Vincennes district. Three groups of claims were reported by the Commissioners (John Badollet and Nathaniel Ewing) on March 25, 1806.³⁸ The first comprised those which had been decided on and confirmed by the Governors of the Old Northwest and of Indiana Territory. Two hundred and forty-three names appear in this list of original donees of four hundred acres and almost without exception these are French. The names of the claimants of these grants in 1806 show, however, a large proportion of American names which indicate that the more aggressive American settlers were displacing the ancient and softly living French peasantry.

Another class included the claims not acted on by the Governors. In this list the Commissioners allowed sixty-five claims aggregating 13,950 acres. Double that number, however, were rejected on their merits or on account of insufficient evidence.

A third group of claims which the Commissioners rejected were those not embraced in any acts of Congress but

³⁷ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 14th Congress, pp. 1866-1868; and Treat's *The National Land System 1785-1820*, pp. 221, 222.

³⁸ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 288-303; and Treat's *The National Land System 1785-1820*, pp. 212, 213.

which had arisen from fraudulent grants by the court at Vincennes or from purchases made by the Wabash and Illinois land companies from the Indians. Such claims the board regarded as "fraudulent, *ab initio*, entirely unusual", and therefore rejected them *in toto*.

A supplementary report, filed on November 27th, contained an additional list of claimants who had delayed filing their claims beyond the period allowed by the law of 1804. The board now raised the question whether this failure to comply with the law would operate to invalidate their rights.³⁹

A tract was now set apart (April 21, 1806)⁴⁰ wherein unlocated claims in the Vincennes district were to be laid out in the form of squares or parallelograms. The next year, on March 3rd, the confirmations of the board were affirmed and it was further provided that all locations should be completed on or before July 1, 1808, and that failure to do so would bar the claimant's right.⁴¹

Restless and aggressive claimants continued, however, to press their claims before Congress. By the act of April 30, 1810, the claims were again reopened⁴² and the Commissioners were directed to receive until November 1, 1810, the claims of persons entitled to donation lands under former Congressional acts, those who were minors, or who were not residents of the district during the time allowed by law for registering such claims. The Commissioners were instructed to resume their sittings and to report their findings to the Secretary of the Treasury.

Six classes of claims were reported on May 27, 1812:⁴³ one group did not come within the scope of the law of April

³⁹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 558-581.

⁴⁰ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 9th Congress, pp. 1279, 1280.

⁴¹ *Annals of Congress*, 2nd Session, 9th Congress, pp. 1290-1292.

⁴² *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 11th Congress, pp. 2564-2566.

⁴³ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 382-388.

30, 1810; for another no evidence was presented; and one group was rejected. Twenty-eight confirmations, comprising donation claims and militia claims, were made to the extent of 9300 acres. Congress promptly approved (February 13, 1813)⁴⁴ the board's confirmations as well as eight special claims which the board had regarded as worthy. Locations of these tracts were required to be made before October 1, 1813.

MICHIGAN CLAIMS AND CONFIRMATIONS

A supplementary report, dated March 6, 1806, from the Commissioners for the district of Detroit confirmed six claims and listed a mass of rejected claims.⁴⁵ The next month a law empowered the Governor and Judges of Michigan Territory to lay out (in a tract not to exceed 10,000 acres) the town of Detroit⁴⁶ which had been destroyed by fire on June 11, 1805.⁴⁷ The possessors of soil in that town on that date were to be granted lots of a size not to exceed 5000 square feet for each claimant.

On September 1st of the next year (1807) the Commissioners again made a report⁴⁸ which embraced four recommendations: (1) that there be an extension of time for entering claims, since many of the French peasantry were illiterate, uninformed men whose neglect to file their claims would ruin many of them; (2) that claimants be entitled to receive more than one tract on proof of occupancy prior to July 1, 1796, the day on which, according to the Jay treaty, the United States took formal possession of the northwestern posts; (3) that the grants on the Detroit River be increased in depth from forty to eighty arpents; (4) that a

⁴⁴ *Annals of Congress*, 2nd Session, 12th Congress, pp. 1329, 1330.

⁴⁵ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 305.

⁴⁶ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 9th Congress, pp. 1283, 1284.

⁴⁷ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 247.

⁴⁸ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 592, 593.

certain amount be granted to those having made actual settlement after July 1, 1796. These suggestions were, in the main, adopted in the Congressional act of April 25, 1808.⁴⁹

Meanwhile the three Commissioners were holding session after session at Detroit from June 29, 1807, to February 28, 1811.⁵⁰ Evidence was collected and examined; adjournments were often made when business was lacking; tracts of land were located and estimated as to extent and about seven hundred claims passed in review for preëmption, rejection, or confirmation. The Commissioners during this time were Stanley Griswold, Reuben Attwater, Peter Audrain, and James Abbot, the last two of whom served throughout the period.⁵¹

The Congressional act of April 23, 1812, was liberal:⁵² patents were to be granted to persons whose claims had been approved by the Detroit Commissioners in conformity with plats returned by the Surveyor General rather than in accordance with locations made by the board. Those persons to whom tracts not exceeding eighty arpents had been confirmed on the Detroit River were to be entitled to

⁴⁹ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 10th Congress, pp. 2874-2876.

⁵⁰ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, pp. 305-557.

⁵¹ The following, quoted verbatim, is an example of the many claims filed:
To the Register of the Land Office at Detroit.

SIR:

DETROIT, December 28, 1808.

Take notice that I now enter with the Commissioners of the Land Office at Detroit my claim to a tract of land, situate at Grand Marais, on river Detroit, containing three arpents in front by eighty in depth, (excepting one arpent in front by two in depth, now the property of John Askin,) bounded in front by river Detroit, in rear by unlocated lands, on one side by Batiste Laderoute, and on the other side by Bazil Campeau. I claim by virtue of possession, occupancy, and improvements made by me or those from whom I derive title.

PIERRE RIVARD, his x mark.

Witness, Peter Audrain.

—*American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. I, p. 515.

⁵² *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 12th Congress, pp. 2273, 2274.

donation rights. Such donations were to be located back of or adjacent to confirmed lots, were not to exceed forty arpents, and claims thereto were to be filed not later than December 1, 1812. Later Congress extended this time six years.⁵³

A revival of long dormant claims now took place in unexpected quarters. In 1755 a few French settlers had established a neighborhood which came to be known as Prairie du Chien. For over half a century they had lived in peace and contentment under the successive jurisdictions of France, Great Britain, and the United States, while they had neglected to perfect their titles. In 1818 they requested Congress to appoint an agent to examine their claims and then to report them to Congress for consideration.⁵⁴

In accordance with this a law was enacted by Congress in 1820.⁵⁵ The powers of the Detroit board were revived and that body was to employ an agent proficient in French to examine the titles of claimants at both Prairie du Chien and Green Bay. A full report was to be made to the Commissioners who were to have power (except in cases of donations of vacant land adjacent to land confirmed) to approve titles.

Three years later (February 21, 1823) the law was further extended and the powers of the Commissioners continued to November 1st of that year.⁵⁶ Claims at Detroit, Prairie du Chien, Green Bay, and Michilimackinac were to be considered. Those who were residents on July 1, 1812, and who continued to submit to the authority of the United States were to be confirmed in their claims of not to exceed six hundred and forty acres. This provision would of course bar British agents and sympathizers.

⁵³ *Annals of Congress*, 2nd Session, 14th Congress, p. 1337.

⁵⁴ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. III, p. 385.

⁵⁵ *Annals of Congress*, 1st Session, 16th Congress, pp. 2586, 2587.

⁵⁶ *Annals of Congress*, 2nd Session, 17th Congress, pp. 1341-1343.

Nine distinct reports were made by the Commissioners to Congress in accordance with the various acts of that body. Because of deviations from the strict terms of former statutes the Commissioners deemed the confirmations by Congress advisable if not necessary. The letters, depositions, protests, claims, descriptions, and rejections in these reports cover nearly three hundred pages and contain a considerable portion of the history of these old French settlements of Michigan Territory.⁵⁷

Not until April 17, 1828,⁵⁸ were the claims recommended confirmed by Congress. The claims at Sault de Ste. Marie in the county of Michilimackinac were protested by a considerable group of army officers, mainly on the ground that the claimants had moved away and that they had been disloyal to the United States during the War of 1812. These claims, therefore, Congress did not confirm.

The Committee on Public Lands advised in 1828 that no further general laws to confirm claims in Michigan Territory ought to be passed.⁵⁹ That year marks, therefore, the end of general legislation upon private land claims in what had been the Northwest Territory. As late as the year 1883 many claims were still pending, but these have been the subjects of special acts of Congress or of administration in the General Land Office.

This examination of the private claims of the Northwest Territory leads to several distinct conclusions and observations:

First, the preponderance of French names among the claimants. Pierre Gibault, the Vincennes parish priest, Langlois, and Peltier are among the prominent names.

⁵⁷ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. V, pp. 47-328.

⁵⁸ *Congressional Debates*, 1st Session, 30th Congress, Appendix, pp. ix, x.

⁵⁹ *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. V, p. 49.

The French peasantry presided over by their parish priests constitute a rather picturesque reminder of the French power over the Old Northwest. These simple villagers whose fields, lots, and commons dated far back, knew little and cared less about records, titles, and land laws. The chaotic state of these French records and the medieval system of land tenure contributed in no small degree to the difficulty of determining and locating claims.

Secondly, an unusual amount of fraud and perjury was discovered. Weak human nature urged on by agents, attorneys, speculators, and clamorous heirs is revealed in these brief minutes of the boards of commissioners. Truth and veracity too often languished under the blighting effects of cupidity, self-interest, and bad memory. And, it is little wonder that Commissioner Michael Jones found it difficult to reconcile himself "to stoop to the drudgery of wading again through this sea of corruption."⁶⁰

Thirdly, these claims had the effect in some regions of retarding settlement. Surveys were delayed and complaints arose that the settlers were delayed by the non-adjustment of private titles. Then, too, reservations made by Congress were closed to the settler desiring to purchase a fee simple title for \$1.25 an acre.

Fourthly, the beginnings of the preëmption principle are noticeable. The special consideration given to such elements as cultivation, improvements, and residence and to the options upon adjacent tracts is one factor which increased the number of claimants and the difficulties of the Commissioners. Such a policy both protected actual owners and checked squatters.

Fifthly, the almost prodigal liberality of Congress is apparent in the laws from 1788 to 1828. In this liberality

⁶⁰ Quoted from Michael Jones's report to Albert Gallatin, January 18, 1813, in the *American State Papers, Public Lands*, Vol. II, pp. 614, 615.

Congress outdid the land officers, because, with perhaps one exception, it confirmed all claims recommended by the Commissioners. The large mass of detailed legislation is a commentary upon the increasing generosity of Congress. The classes of claimants were frequently enlarged and special donation acts were not infrequent. And, without courts to interpret legislation upon private land claims, it would seem that the procedure in the Northwest Territory was less regulated and systematic than in the district of Upper Louisiana.

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THE QUAKERS OF IOWA IN 1858

Two English Friends, Benjamin Seebohm and Robert Lindsey, made a visit among the Quaker communities in Iowa during the early months of the year 1850, as a part of a five-years' tour in North America. Scarcely had they returned to their native land, however, when Lindsey again felt what he believed to be a new call to "service in a far-distant land"; and he recorded his conviction that "the time draws on apace when resignation on my part must be yielded to the Divine requiring, if peace be my portion".¹

Permission in the form of a "release for service" was granted by the Brighthouse Monthly Meeting, and in July, 1852, Robert Lindsey, accompanied by Frederic Mackie, set sail for Australia. Before he returned to England after an absence of a year and a half he had traveled over the greater part of that continent, as well as in Tasmania, New Zealand, and the southern part of Africa.²

After about eighteen months spent at home, in the summer of 1857 Lindsey once more set out on a religious journey which extended around the world.³ This time he was accompanied by his wife, Sarah, who bravely shared with him all of the hardships of the journey, and a portion of whose journal is printed below. Landing at Boston about the last of August, 1857,⁴ by the following April the two travelers were visiting among the scattered Quaker settlements in Kansas, then the scene of crime and bloodshed. From this point the story of their wanderings can

¹ *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey*, p. 53.

² *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey*, pp. 54-133.

³ *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey*, pp. 134-185.

⁴ *Friends' Review*, Vol. X (1856-1857), p. 825.

best be told in the words of the journal written from day to day by Sarah Lindsey.

This journal should be read in connection with the portion of the diary of Robert Lindsey (1850) which was printed in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS* for April, 1914, pp. 262-286. A comparison of these two journals reveals the growth and spread of Quaker communities in Iowa during the eight years from 1850 to 1858.⁵ Moreover, in the journal printed below there will be found many interesting glimpses of the difficulties and hardships of travel in the trans-Mississippi region during the late fifties and of social and economic conditions in different parts of the State of Iowa. The journal has been printed verbatim except that the method of indicating the dates of the daily entries has been changed for the sake of securing uniformity.

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THE JOURNAL OF SARAH LINDSEY

16th, 4 mo., 1858.—Kansas.⁶ Jonathan Wheeler's house was scantily furnished; round the sides of the house several trunks of trees enclosed loose hay, which with cross timber, without bed stocks, formed several sleeping places for the night. A large box was used as a table, two or three chairs, & smaller boxes served for seats; a few open shelves held the crockery ware, and a small cupboard contained their stock of books. But in the midst of this humble abode contentment seemed to dwell, and a smile played upon many of the happy faces around us. This family have taken up 160

⁵ See the writer's volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, Ch. VII.

⁶ A portion of the journal describing events before the travelers reached Iowa is included, partly because of its interest and partly for the purpose of making the account more complete.

acres of land & seem likely to do well. We had a meeting with them to satisfaction: many of us would think their lot a hard one, but we had cause to believe that the Son of Peace had taken up His abode in some of their hearts.

Dined with our young friends A. Henshaw & wife, then had a cold windy ride to Duck Creek where we lodged. Next morning the ground was covered with snow, and we had a stormy drive over the open prairie, 15 miles of our route being through the Sac & Fox Indian reservation⁷ where we did not see a single house, & only crossed two creeks. Dined at Burlingham, and lodged at Henry Hyatt's, at Twin Mounds, the place taking its name from two oblong natural elevations which are seen from a distance & appear as if they had been cast in a mold. H. Hyatt was once a member of our society. Here we met with a person named William Denton who is a noted infidel, and the individual who attended the meeting which my R L^s had at Bloomington. He removed to this country from Darlington about nine years ago; he was acquainted with the Pease's family. We could agree with a remark he made: that this country suited persons holding views similar to his own better than England.

On leaving the house H. Hyatt refused to take money for our accommodations. Rode to Lawrence next morning where we parted from our truly kind friend Benajah Hyatt, who has been our driver & faithful companion for nearly 3 weeks, during which time he has given us much information upon subjects relating to the recent disturbances in Kansas, some of which were of a most tragical nature, being cold blooded murders & atrocities, such as are seldom heard of in this age of the world amongst civilized nations. We were intending to proceed to the Friends Mission by public

⁷ On this reservation there were doubtless living many Indians whose home had formerly been in Iowa.

⁸ These initials, of course, are those of Robert Lindsey.

stage but all the seats were engaged. A note had been sent to the hotel for my R L from L. W. Wood, an entire stranger to us, but a descendant of friends, who having heard of our arrival invited us to his house to remain either a day, or a month, as suited our convenience; so we spent the afternoon & lodged there, and his wife, a well educated & sensible woman, treated us kindly. L. N. Wood is a lawyer by profession & seems to be in easy circumstances. The family are living in a temporary house, but a little snug bed was prepared for us in the loft, the ascent of which was by irregular boards some of which bent as we trod upon them. Took leave of our kind friends the following morning and went to the Mission, a distance of 35 miles by a public stage. For nearly two weeks there has been a cloudy atmosphere but now the sun shines in the clear blue sky.

Within the last week we have seen abundance of wild plum & gooseberry trees in full blossom. The prairie chickens are like a little speckled pullet, and very numerous; if we come near they take wing & fly a short distance. The larks build their nests upon the ground, & sing a short sweet plaintive note; but in other respects are unlike our English birds bearing that name. Spent fifth day with our friends at the Mission: the mid-week meeting was an interesting season wherein my dear Husband had some service. A friend named James Stanley who had just arrived in the State along with wife & 3 children called in the evening. J. S. is a joiner by trade and has come here with the prospects of stationing himself among one of the Indian tribes to instruct them in manual labor & to endeavour to raise their condition in other respects. The poor Indians have been driven from one place to another, until some of the Shawnese & other civilized tribes are intending to become citizens of the United States. Some of the natives have

married white persons. In riding along we do not see many Indians & but seldom pass their habitations. They are generally shy & retiring; we saw two squaws in Lawrence, one of whom was clad in a scarlet, & the other in a yellow dress, & blankets were thrown over their shoulders like a cloak.

This morning — the 16th, 4 mo., we arose very early and taking a final leave of our friends at the Mission, were accompanied by C. Harvey who drove us to Kansas City in a waggon. The road was thronged with emigrants who were just entering the State: some in covered wagons had been camping for the night, and having kindled a fire were preparing breakfast. Others were walking with their bags & bundles. On approaching the river we had the mortification to see the steam boat by which we expected to proceed, start from the shore & sail without us; not knowing when another of that class might be passing, we went to an Inn where I spent some hours in posting up my journal, but being on the tiptoe of expectation we had an uncomfortable day. We retired to rest and got a few hours sleep; and at an early hour the following morning we heard the steam whistle, & before 6 a. m. were on board the "Meteor". Much rain fell during the night accompanied by thunder & lightning. Our boat is rather small but a fast sailer: we have not many fellow passengers. On first day morning we held our meeting in our cabin, rather a dull heavy season to myself: wherein I felt my own weakness & inability to help myself. It is not usual for the boats on the Missouri to run thro' the dark nights, but our Captain being desirous of reaching Jefferson City, ran until morning 8 a. m. when we struck upon a sand bank, and notwithstanding all the skill & ingenuity which this accident called forth we were not afloat until daylight next morning. Reached Jefferson City about 7 a. m. just in time to take the train to St. Louis where we arrived in 6 hours.

20th, 4 mo.— St. Louis. State of Missouri. On arriving here yesterday we were gratified in finding two sets of letters from home with dates to the 18th of last mo. The weather is now much warmer, & spring flowers deck the fields & hedges: and the forest trees are putting on their green robes.

21st, 4 mo.— Have been to the Tract Depository this afternoon but do not find as much choice of books as at New Orleans. St. Louis is a busy & increasing city, but by no means as pleasant one, & we find most things very dear. Here at New Orleans, and other towns in the Southern States, there is no copper currency in use except at the post-office, & the smallest silver coin in use is the five cent piece. Have been much engaged in writing & sorting books. Our dear children are remembered by me oftener than the day, & desires are raised in my heart for their preservation from the snares of our unwearied adversary: from the undue influence of the spirit of the world which keeps the mind afloat: and from fleshly lusts which war against the soul. Many of friends & relations are also brought before my mind with desires for their encouragement.

23rd, 4 mo.— Still at St. Louis. Made up & posted letters for England. Yesterday there was an account in the newspaper of an explosion on board the Steamboat "Falls City", by the bursting of the boiler as she was about to sail from New Orleans to this City: by which accident several persons lost their lives. And this morning there is the report of the loss of a steamboat by fire. She sailed up the river last evening in company with another boat, with which she commenced racing: after proceeding about 5 miles the other boat got ahead of her, when the crew used great efforts to increase their speed. After supplying the engine fires with rosin, the mate ordered a barrel of turpentine, one end of

which was burst open, and pieces of firewood were dipped into the spirits, and then thrown into the furnace. Some hot embers fell upon the floor already sprinkled with turpentine; some firewood lying near ignited, & whilst throwing it overboard, the barrel was upset, the spirits flowed around, and instantly the boat was enveloped in flames. Consternation seized the passengers & crew, some of whom threw themselves into the water, others tried to leap on shore towards which the head of the boat had been turned. One woman was observed to throw her infant on shore; but on endeavouring to save another it proved too heavy and fell into the water, a third fared the same fate but eventually the mother & her children were rescued. Another female was seen lingering near one of the paddle boxes on the upper deck, but being encouraged to spring from the deck & endeavour to save herself, she made an effort to do so, but her dress caught upon something & she swung under the deck & fell into the burning mass below. We heard the fire bell tolling at which time the hull of the burning vessel was floating down the river towards the vessels at the Levee, but by sending out a boat with suitable men & implements, the flames were extinguished, & she was driven out of the way, & further danger prevented, tho' during the conflagration another boat was set on fire. By this occurrence about 10 persons lost their lives. Circumstances of this kind are not infrequent, & it is fearful to contemplate the little value which seems to be set upon human life.

24th, 4 mo.—Last evening we spent a few hours in a social & more solemn manner, & took tea at Wm Alderson's. Called upon the widow Lucy Ann Kyle, whose maiden name was Whinstone: she was married to a non-member in early life by which act she lost her membership in our society but her principles seem to accord with our own. She resides with her son-in-law, Robert Campbell, whose wife is her

daughter. R C has lived here many years & is a successful merchant. After some conversation Lucy Ann accompanied us in their carriage to town, and introduced us to a widow named Sarah Williams of the same class as herself. This person had private lodgings in the hotel where we were staying.

We were in hopes of leaving here yesterday but could not meet with a suitable boat. My husband has taken places for us in the "Laclede" to Muscatine in Iowa, a distance of 300 miles. This vessel is adver[tis]ed to sail this evening, but on going on board we find that she is not likely to leave the wharf until second day evening the 26th. This being the case my dear R L has felt his mind drawn to gospel love towards our friends here, and he has gone on shore to make arrangements for a meeting on first day.

26th, 4 mo.—On seventh day⁹ night we lodged on board the "Laclede", and the following morning attended the meeting which was held at the house of Robert Staggs; 30 persons were present, & thro' the Lord's helping hand we had a good & solemn meeting wherein my husband had good service and I was constrained to supplicate at the holy footstool: our hearts were contrited & drawn together & some of us rejoiced under a feeling of the great love of God thro' Christ Jesus.

Dined with our friends, the Staggs, & Charlotte Davis, & her Niece from Cincinnati who are relatives. Spent the evening & lodged at R Campbell's, where we met with every comfort & convenience that we could desire. They have a large house & furnished in English style. At one time they held a few slaves but Virginia Campbell not liking the system, nor the care of young negroes, they were set free.

⁹ The Quakers did not use the ordinary names of the days of the week or the months of the year, but employed a simple system of enumeration. See the writer's volume on *The Quakers of Iowa*, pp. 280, 281.

Their servants at the present time are Swiss, German & Irish.

This morning we took leave of our kind friends and called at the residence of John How, who is largely engaged in the tanning, & currying business: he is a man greatly beloved & respected, and is so much inclined to benefit his neighbours that he is called "the poor man's friend". He appears to have been successful in business; & at one time he held the office of Mayor of the City.

Went on board the steamboat before noon, and took the opportunity of writing while all was quiet.

27th, 4 mo.—Third day. We did not sail until $\frac{1}{2}$ past six last evening when we took a final leave of St. Louis which is a fine & flourishing City containing about 140 thousand inhabitants. Near the river, and in the business part of the City the streets are ill paved & dirty but the suburbs behind the town contain many good & well built houses chiefly of brick which are painted. The roads are clean, wide, & well paved, & trees planted at intervals. Some of the best houses have gardens attached, in one of which I noticed a bed of tulips in full bloom. Beds of coal & stone are in the neighbourhood.

The Mississippi is dotted with islands of various form & size, and covered with trees. A large timber raft is floating down the river under the care of several men. There are not many passengers: we have 2 women who are of the lower class of Germans with whom we are unable to converse. At one of the stopping places we noticed two neatly dressed fair looking young women come on board, but not seeing them at the cabin table where we take our meals, I enquired where they were & was informed that they were of the mixed negro class, & took their meals below with the stewardess & colored waiters.

28th, 4 mo.—Have just passed the town of Keokuk and we are now going thro' the rapids which extend about 18 miles: when the river is low they cannot be sailed over by big boats on account of the projecting rocks. A railway has recently been constructed from this place to Montrose, a distance of 20 miles, by which this inconvenience is in some degree met. On the opposite side of the river lies Nauvoo, formerly a head station of the Mormons. We see the remains of the temple built upon rising ground at the head of the town; the walls are still standing but the roof & windows are gone, and it remains as the wreck of a monument of the folly of man. Every ten or 15 miles we pass a small town; Burlington & Otquoke are some of the largest which we have seen this morning.

29th, 4 mo.—Landed at Muscatine in Iowa at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2 o'clock this morning, and went to an hotel where we got a little sleep, & after breakfast by enquiries made our way to the house of Samuel Adams.

Thermometer 80° in the shade.

2nd, 5 mo.—First day. On 6th day we took tea & spent the evening at the house of Brinton & Amelia Darlington.¹⁰ The latter a sweet spirited friend in the station of a minister. Yesterday we had a cold wet & windy ride to Bloomington where the Monthly Meeting was held. There are many friends scattered around, and they have a good frame meeting house which on this occasion was pretty well filled. The wing of our heavenly Father's love & solemnizing presence was felt to spread over us, under the feeling of which we were constrained to labor according to the measure of grace bestowed. The women's meeting for discipline was an in-

¹⁰ Brinton Darlington was the first of the Quakers to cross the Mississippi and settle in the vicinity of Muscatine. He came to Iowa in 1843, and in the years that followed he occupied an influential place in the Society of Friends in this State.

teresting occasion & toward the close a man friend entered the meeting & informed us that he had a prospect of religious service in New England Yearly Meeting: also to attend New York, Ohio, & Indiana, Y. M., and to hold some meetings within their limits which he was united with. The friend who acted as clerk and who was in the station of an elder afterwards informed us that she felt it to be her duty to accompany her husband, which being approved of she went to inform the men who liberated her for the service. The friends of this meeting emigrated chiefly from New York & New England, & appear to be in a lively condition, three men are acknowledged ministers, & several women occasionally speak in their meetings.

Dined with Olney & Lydia Thompson, the friends who claimed our attention in meeting. Returned to Muscatine with our truly kind & interesting friends Samuel & M. J. Adams. In the evening we had to wait some time for the arrival of a steam boat, but about 9 o'clock, took our departure for Davenport. The distance is about 30 miles and we were informed that we would arrive there about midnight, instead of which the boat steered to Rock Island on the other side of the river. We had an uncomfortable night, & very broken sleep, and the weather was so cold that we could scarcely keep warm. Arose at 5 a. m. expecting to be taken across the river, which after much delay & consequent mortification was accomplished; & Robert Steer met & took us to his house: his Father-in-law, Peleg Wilbur, came with us from Muscatine. There are only two families in Davenport & one young man who are members of our society. A meeting is held at R Steers on first day morning; and at this time we sat down, 15 in number. Having had such a disturbed night I was greatly oppressed with heaviness, but thro' the Lord's wonder working power, the spirit of prayer came over me and access was granted to the holy foot stool.

My dear husband ministered unto us. Spent the rest of the day with our friends. This town contains about 17,000 persons.

Rose early the next morning & came by train to West Liberty, 35 miles, where we were met by Elliot, the only son of Thomas & Annabelle Winn; who took us to his Father's house at Red Cedar, 6 miles distant, where we met with a cordial reception. In the afternoon Ann Morrow, formerly Abbott, came to see us, & having been members of the same meeting in younger days, it was mutually pleasant to meet: she is much affected with the rheumatism but lodges with a family where she is nicely cared for. Next day we dined at Greenberry Wood's who was one of the first settlers here: he has a wife & four children. They are in the nursery business. In the afternoon attended the select meeting at Red Cedar, which held long, but it was a time of suffering to my own mind. The friends seem to be preserved in love, but I thought a little deepening in the root of true religion would be beneficial to many.

5th, 5 mo.—Iowa. Fourth day. This morning we attended the Mo. Meeting at Red Cedar where we met a large body of friends. The Great Head of the church was not unmindful of us, but was strength in weakness & a very present helper in time of need. Many of the women shew an interest in meetings for discipline & stand upon an equality with the men. There were two applications for membership. Samuel Lloyd, a minister, accompanied by another man entered our meeting and opened his prospect of visiting the different meetings in Iowa, & holding some public meetings; he had previously been liberated by the men's meeting, and the women uniting therewith, the way was open for his procedure.¹¹

¹¹ "Our Beloved Friends Robert & Sarah Lindsey from England, in the course of a religious visit in this Country, acceptably attended this meeting."—*Minutes of Red Cedar Monthly Meeting of Friends, 5 mo., 5th, 1858, p. 266.*

Dined with Lauri & M. A. Tatham,¹² who were amongst the first settlers here, and they are still living in the log cabin which was put up on their arrival, tho' some needful additions have been made to it.

The settlement of friends extends about 6 miles:¹³ many of them have good frame houses, furnished in simple style. They have just erected a large frame meeting house, and on seventh day a Quarterly Meeting is to be opened in it for the first time. The floor being laid with unplanned boards has rather a rough appearance, but as they will not often undergo the process of washing it may answer well. After some days of cold wet weather we have had an agreeable change and the roads which were almost impassible are drying up a little. There being no foot paths, and the roads in some places being ankle deep in mud, we feel quite deprived of the benefit of walking, and have to ride if we call upon a friend. Some of the sloughs are difficult to get through, even in a carriage.

On fifth day dined with Henry Rowntree and wife: he came here from England in early life has had many reverses of fortune and is now engaged in farming, he has 5 sons & 2 daughters: H R & his wife are persons of talent. Henry has a gift in the ministry & if favoured to keep in the low valley of humility seems likely to be very useful amongst his friends. Called to see James Hodgson & wife, formerly of Manchester; he is a cabinet maker, appears very industrious & gets plenty of work: they have put up a neat frame house, and if favoured with health, seem likely to do well.

On sixth day morning attended the select Q. M., a favored

¹² This name should read Laurie Tatum.

¹³ For many years the highlands or watershed between the Cedar and Iowa rivers was so thickly settled by Friends that it was given the name of "Quaker Ridge". A series of *Memoirs of Quaker Divide*, written by D. B. Cook, appeared in the issues of the *Dexter Sentinel* early in 1914.

season wherein we were fed with the crumbs which fell from the Master's table. Dined at Samuel Pearson's whose house & farm buildings are the best which we have seen in this part of the State. His wife & 4 daughters seem very industrious, and attend to their own domestic work.

8th, 5 mo.—Iowa. Seventh day. Closed letters for England and at 11 a. m. attended the first sitting of Red Cedar Quarterly Meeting, Iowa.¹⁴ The house, calculated to hold 400 persons, was well filled, and thro' the Lord's continued goodness we had a favoured meeting wherein divers testimonies were borne inciting to diligence in the great & all important work of true religion. The meetings for discipline were interesting seasons, and the business was transacted with much harmony. After our Certificates were read, there was such an expression of sympathy & unity, that I felt deeply humbled: many hearts were contrited, and tears shed, under a feeling of the Lord's goodness and protecting care over two strangers who were journeying far from home. We had breakfast at 7 a. m: the meeting held until ½ past four and at 6 p. m, we dined with Isreal & Ruth Negus where Ann Morrow resides. Eleven hours seemed a long time between meals, but it is not the custom here to have a recess between meetings. The weather for the most part has been cloudy, cold, & wet, but this morning is fine & sunny.

9th, 5 mo.—First day. There was a full meeting in the morning and the solemnizing presence of the Lord was felt to spread over us. Several testimonies were borne, mostly of an awakening character: and prayers were offered for our preservation. In the afternoon attended the Scripture School: it is open to others besides members children, &

¹⁴ The Red Cedar Quarterly Meeting was established on May 8, 1858, by the authority of the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends and in the presence of a committee appointed by that body.

seems likely to be useful here where infidelity is striving to erect its head and to undermine the great truths of the gospel. Some friends came to our lodgings in the evening, and after the usual scripture reading, my R L addressed several states present, and our hearts were warmed with the love of God.

Next morning took leave of our truly kind friends, Thomas & Annabella Winn; the latter has a superior & refined mind and has latterly spoken in meetings for worship. She was brought up & married in Philadelphia, but her husband being unsuccessful in business, they have had many trials and during our sojourn of a week under their roof I have many times thought she seemed more redeemed from the world than any person that I have previously known: like Mary of old she seemed to sit at the feet of her Savior.

Dilworth Schooly drove us 6 miles to Honey Grove where a meeting had been appointed at 11 a. m. About 13 families have an indulged meeting on first day morning which is held in a dwelling house. On this occasion it was much crowded, but we had a solid & good meeting wherein gospel truths were opened, I trust to the edification of some present. After dining at John Hacock's where the meeting was held, rode 12 miles to Centre where another indulged meeting is kept.

11th, 5 mo.—Lodged at Absolum Raley's, and at 10 a. m. attended their meeting held at Isaiah Stanley's; 8 families attend this meeting, but 45 persons were present this morning when the Lord was our helper, and we had fresh cause to set up an Ebenezer to his praise. After dinner rode 13 miles to Iowa City, which is laid out upon a large scale but the houses are far apart: it is pleasantly situated upon rising ground; good wide streets laid out, but as they are not yet paved, it is difficult to walk along in wet weather.

13th, 5 mo.—Iowa City. Lodged at a comfortable hotel & set out early the following morning. Crossing the Iowa River we rode over some large prairies, and entered a level country at the Old Man's Creek, which is bordered with a thick belt of timber, along side of which we traveled some miles thro' a settled district. Recrossing the creek we rode alongside or between groves of wild plum, apple, crab, raspberry, & hazel bushes, all growing in wild luxuriance. Birds of various note & plumage were enjoying the sunshine: the blackbird is large & the male has red feathers at the root of its wings which has a pretty appearance when extended. The robin is much larger than our English bird bearing that name; its head & tail are black, and its breast a muddy brown.

Crossed a fork of the English River & arrived at Millersburg about 6 p. m. and lodged at Isaac McBrides, a friend of our driver. Set out early this morning, crossed one fork of the English River & forded another somewhat deep. The various sloughs at the foot of the ridges in riding over the pra[i]ries are a great discomfort to us. We noticed some pra[i]rie chickens today. Many sweet & varied flowers adorn the grass, we notice the buttercup but miss the daisy. At the close of our days journey, when entering a lane leading to a friend's house at Gilead, our horses were not able to draw the carriage thro' a slough: one of them fell down in it, and they had to be released from the vehicle and a pair of oxen yoked to draw it out. It took us 6 hours to travel about 18 miles. After our arrival there was a violent tempest of rain & wind accompanied by thunder & lightning which for about 15 minutes seemed as if it would sweep everything before it. Some of the houses shook & the wooden fences were torn assunder, & left upon heaps: we esteemed it a great favor to have a shelter at such a time. Lodged at Cyrenius Emmon's, & next morning attended an

appointed meeting in the school house belonging to friends at the small settlement called Gilead, where about 13 families reside within a few miles of each other. Some other persons were present, & ability was given to preach Christ crucified. There are a few separatists who have absented themselves from the body, or from meeting for worship with their brethren. These were invited & came to the meeting where the drawing cord of our heavenly Father's love was felt uniting us to the Great Head of the church who seemed to be waiting to unite all (out of scisms & divisions) under his seamless garment.

Here we parted from our young friend, Dilworth Schooly, & in the afternoon had a drive of 23 miles. Owing to the late rains the roads were in bad condition, & in passing thro' the numerous sloughs, it was distressing to see our poor horses up to the knees in mud, and we greatly feared that they would not be able to get along. Fortunately we reached the house of John & Susannah Michiner at Sharon soon after sunset where we met with a kind welcome. They have 8 children, all at home: the 3 eldest are sons, fine healthy looking young men, the youngest of them is 17 years of age & stands 6 ft, 3 inches high. On seventh day morning had a meeting in the school house wherein my R L had good service and I silently bore my burden, there seeming no necessity to cast it upon my friends.

Nine families compose this meeting. In the afternoon rode 10 miles to Centre Grove: being well acquainted with the country, J. Michiner drove us over the high pra[i]ries where the road was much better, and we crossed the Skunk River in a flat. Weather very cold with slight showers of hail. Slept at David Wilsons and on first day morning the 16th attended a meeting held as usual in their school house, a good building two stories high: we had a good meeting. My dear husband spoke to us from the text: "If any of you

lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally, & upbraideth not &c. &c." Prayer was offered & it was an open & favored time. Returned to Sharon in the afternoon, & set out again next morning to Sugar Creek, but found that the water in the Creek had overflowed the bridge, and a meeting having been appointed on the other side we knew not what to do. At length it was agreed for the meeting to be held in a house near where we were as some of the friends lived on this side: but so great was the desire of some of those across the water to attend the meeting that they took the bed of a waggon off the wheels and by means of a rope which was thrown across the stream about 12 persons were drawn across in the waggon, a few at a time.

We were seated in the cottage about 4 p. m. which was much crowded, & what with the heat, the crying of infants, and great exercise of mind into which I was drawn, it was a distressing time to myself. My dear husband had an open time in preaching the gospel, and I trust some things which were said would be as a nail fastened in a sure place. The parties who offered their house for the meeting belonged to a body called Hicksites. After meeting we hastened back to recross the river, at some distance, fearing it might rise higher, and prevent our procedure. A guide led the way across the bayou which is formed by the overflowing water breaking down the banks of the river. It was deep in some places but we got safely thro', & thus got onto the bridge. The exercise of riding thro' the sloughs & wet land is very exhausting both to body & mind, but a good nights rest generally restores us. Lodged at Jesse Arnold's at Lynnville.

19th, 5 mo.—Fourth day. Rode to China yesterday morning, and had a meeting at Samuel Butler's, composed of 6 families, 3 of which consisted of 10 children each &

their parents. The calming influence of our heavenly Father's love spread over us, & my R L spoke from the text: "The well is deep & thou hast nothing to draw with". An unusual number of youths were present. Proceeded to Pleasant View in the afternoon, distant 18 miles. Lodged at Ambrose Osbornes. Yesterday morning was fine & sunny, rain fell in the afternoon, & this morning is cloudy & dull. The farmers are discouraged with the continued cold weather, which has lasted longer than usual this year.

Pleasant View 18, 5 mo. A meeting house has recently been erected here which is seated with rude forms, without backs. The meeting this morning was a season when judgment was laid to the line, & righteousness to the plum line; and an alarm sounded on the Lord's holy mountain to the careless sons & daughters, whilst encouragement flowed to the sincere hearted mourners. In the afternoon rode 4 miles to Centre. Slept at Evan Henshaw's, whose wife was truly kind to us.

21st, 5 mo.—Iowa. Sixth day. At 9 a m. yesterday we had a meeting at Centre, which was a searching & awakening time to the careless & lukewarm, but comfort flowed to the Lord's tribulated children. The meeting house was in an unfinished state, & temporary boards had been put down which were very wet & caused our feet to become cold. Delicate persons should not come into newly settled places, as there are not the comforts to be found which they require. The soil here is of a ruddy brown, and the boys not wearing shoes or stockings, their feet look like those of colored people. It is the custom in these parts for all classes to sit down together at meal times, and if there are any workmen, however ragged or dirty they may be, they are treated with marked attention & sometimes take the lead in conversation.

Dined with Matilda White, an interesting widow who resides in a log cabin; her husband died about 5 years ago

leaving her with 7 children. She has a farm, & works upon the land, assisted by her son, a youth of 15, & two younger daughters. In the afternoon proceeded to Hopewell, a distance of 25 miles.

On approaching the south Skunk River, we found the water had formed a bayou on the flat land adjoining, in crossing which the water entered our carriage & made it uncomfortable, rather increasing a cold & hoarseness which I have had for some days. After considerable difficulty in finding our way over the pra[i]ries, & plunging at un-awares into a deep slough which for a moment took one of our horses off his feet, we reached our place of destination about 8 p. m. and were glad to find a shelter for ourselves & horses under the roof of Wm Hibbs. Our friend John Michiner is still with us. Here we found a small company with whom we had a satisfactory meeting this morning in Wm Hibb's house.

23rd, 5 mo.—Indianola, Iowa. First day. On sixth day afternoon accompanied by Samuel Chambers & wife as guides, we rode over the pra[i]ries to the 4 mile Creek, and took up our quarters at J. J's whose wife has been blind 11 years. Two daughters about 15 & 17 years of age had charge of the house, but we had painfully to see & feel their need of more efficient care & inspection in domestic concerns.

No regular meeting is kept up here, but the few families professing with us, met in a school house on seventh day morning. Many other persons joined us, and we had a satisfactory meeting, at the close of which my dear husband desired our friends to remain a little longer, and expressed his desire that they should meet together for the purpose of divine worship. Some of them seemed to see & feel the need of it, but did not like to take upon themselves the responsibility. As generally the case my R L distributed tracts at the close of the meeting.

Dined at the widow Adamson's who has an interesting family of grown up sons & Daughters.

Rode 8 miles to Fort Desmoines, a considerable town at the foot of the Desmoine & Racoon Rivers; and the capitol of the State.

A peculiar illusion meets the eye in passing over these pra[i]ries. We observe what appears to be a large white frame house upon which we look with interest; but after travelling some miles we find it dwindles to a cottage, one story high: and the same thing applies to groves of trees. Last evening rain & hail, accompanied by thunder & lightning came on and continued until sun rise this morning: when we set out early and rode 20 miles to Indianola where there is a settled meeting. One of our kind friend John Michiner's horses requiring rest, he returned home, and Mahlon Haworth drove us 14 miles to Calvin Haworth's, but owing to the bad roads, it was after 9 p. m. when we arrived, & most of the family had retired to rest.

Our guide has lived 12 years in Iowa but never saw such continued rain as there has been for the last few weeks. We have to go many miles round to avoid creeks & sloughs which are impassible: and on the best roads our horses do not generally make more than 3 miles an hour. Dined at Ellwood Haworths at Hickory Grove, where a small indulged meeting is held. At 2 p. m. we sat down with the friends & their neighbours: the house was much crowded, and my dear Husband had considerable service in the ministry: but I do not remember ever sitting a more painful meeting as regards both body & mind. I had a very uncomfortable seat, and feeling much exhausted from plunging thro' the mud, day after day, I was ready to faint away. We afterwards rode some miles and lodged at Isaac Haworth's.

26th, 5 mo.—Fort Des-Moines, Iowa. My dear R L had

felt his mind drawn to visit some other friends residing at a distance, but as there seemed to be no chance at present, on account of bad roads & swollen creeks, we returned to Indianola; but finding it difficult to obtain either a guide or horses, but at last we borrowed an old carriage, & hired horses from an hotel; the landlord drove us but the roads were worse than ever. We had not proceeded half way, before we plunged into a deep slough where the horses broke their singletrees, and we had to borrow harness from a farmer who lived near. After we had gone a few miles, a like accident befell us, but fortunately being near a house we obtained assistance & went on our way. In one fearful place we alighted to relieve the horses, and altho' trying to choose the best part of the road, I got up to the ankle in mud & lost one of my over shoes. Before reaching the town, our carriage pole nearly broke in two, but with repairing we reached the Racoon River which lay between us & the town, about 8 p. m., but on looking for the bridge it was not to be seen. The river had risen several feet & spread over the land. The carriage & horses had to remain behind, but we were taken across in a skiff: and had to wait some time standing on the damp ground until a man went to the Inn for a waggon to take us & our baggage. We were weary in body but felt thankful that no serious accident had befallen us. It is almost in vain to attempt a description of the country at this time. Some nice smooth looking places on the road are like dough in which the horses sink up to their knees, and much of the low flat land is covered with water. Finding that the roads are impassible for hacks, we feel like prisoners, but are staying at a comfortable hotel. There is some change in the weather this morning, & the day is fine & sunny.

28th, 5 mo.—Yesterday the heat was oppressive. The frame houses soon get heated, & we could not find a cool

place. The best of the three bridges over the Des-Moines River is a handsome wooden one, built at a cost of 27,000 dollars, & supported by stone pillars, one of which has given way within the last few days. The others are floating wooden ones supported by boats, but have been useless owing to the increased width of the stream, so are drawn aside to prevent their being washed away. Took a short walk this afternoon, and observed the ground that we crossed in a carriage on 3rd day, now covered with water, & persons were travelling in boats.

Called at the livery stables, and were informed that the roads were still impassible. The usual stage coach has been delayed much beyond the usual time of its arrival, and the passengers report that they had frequently to alight & walk, it being enough for the horses to drag the empty carriage thro' the mud. Such being the case I have been attending to needful repairs; & as the waters have not risen today, we hope soon to proceed to Marietta where we expect to find letters from home.

30th, 5 mo.—During our tarrience of 5 days at the Fort we have heard of several persons who are connected with friends. Called with my husband upon 2 of this class yesterday, & dined with C. Dawson and wife.

My R L feeling it to be in the line of duty to hold a public meeting with the inhabitants, notices have been printed & circulated and at 3 o'clock this afternoon we met a large company in a public room engaged for the purpose, when my dear husband was strengthened to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ. The open sinners were warned to flee from the wrath to come, & shown from various passages in Scripture that the wages of sin is eternal death. The self righteous were reminded of their dangerous condition in trusting to their own good works, and encouragement flowed to the Lord's true born children. Altho' few present

knew but little of our simple mode of worship, great quietitude prevailed, & it was a solemn season.

I cannot describe the cross it is to self, & the conflict of mind into which I am introduced at public meetings in having to sit upon a raised seat beside my husband, without one female friend to bear me company, particularly as I do not often venture to speak on such occasions, except it be to bow the knee in prayer, for the Lord's blessing. But however trying at the time, I can bear testimony that when there is a willing mind, hard things are made easy, & bitter things sweet; and on returning from this meeting, I think we could unitedly adopt the language: "Return unto thy rest, Oh my soul! for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee."

31st, 5 mo.—Second day. Left Fort Des-Moines about $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock this morning by mail stage. The roads were in bad condition, & before crossing the river Skunk, the stage was changed for an open waggon. The water was spread over the adjacent land for the breadth of $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, thro' which we had to ride; I think we never had a rougher journey; we were jerked & tossed from side to side, I was many times raised from my seat & had to hold by the seat before me to prevent being hurt. On arriving at Newton at 2 p. m. were sufficiently tired to make a change agreeable. We were in hopes of proceeding to Marietta this afternoon, but the driver is not willing to proceed until tomorrow morning. Were it not for the bad roads we should have much pleasure in admiring the country: there being many beautiful undulating pra[*i*]ries, also level ones covered with green grass, interspersed with blue, pink, red, yellow & orange flowers. Hundreds of acres lie unoccupied, chiefly in the hands of speculators, but all the unfenced land is common stock as regards grazing. The cattle roam at large, the cows generally having a string tied round their

necks to which a bell is hung, and I suppose the owners can distinguish the sound of the bells. This morning we met a string of 18 waggons in which were women, children, & domestic goods, fowls, &c., &c. Some of the vehicles were drawn by six, & others by four oxen. The men drove the loose cattle. Truly the Americans are a moving & unsettled people. A few days since we were in company with a man who said that he came to Iowa from the State of New York, at a time when he had such an over plus of money that he did not know how to invest it: and now he was so poor that he was glad to get a job of any kind whereby to earn a living.

2nd, 6 mo.—Marietta, Marshall Co. Iowa. Set out at an early hour yesterday morning and passed over the ridges of many fine sloping pra[i]ries, but our driver was not familiar with the road. On being directed into an Indian trail, it led us to a public road, but we travelled 4 miles without passing a dwelling house: we had to alight several times & walk, picking our way round the sloughs and creeks, it being enough for the horses to draw the empty carriage. About mid day we came to a few houses called the Kentucky settlement, where the horses were baited, and we partook of some good rich milk and bread. Four families own 7,000 acres of land, 260 of which are under cultivation, but being 18 miles from any market, & wheat being worth only about 25 cents per bushel this year, & the store keepers having little money, and only being able to pay in goods, the settlers were discouraged: they lived in rude log cabins, and only seemed able to procure the common necessities of life. The day was very fine, the sun shining in the clear blue sky, and had it not been for the continual fear of either missing our way or getting into the sloughs, we should have more fully enjoyed the beauties surrounding us. Our driver, an interesting young man, had five fingers & a thumb upon each hand.

Took up our quarters at a house of accommodation, and found that the family were connected with our society. Found letters from our dear children &c. at the Post Office, and an Annual Monitor for the present year.

With the exception of our youngest daughter E being still delicate, our family were in unusual health, and we trust under the care of Him who sleepeth not by day, nor slumbereth by night. What shall we render unto the Lord for all His benefits? Shall we not take the cup of salvation, calling upon Him to enable us to drink it even to the dregs, seeing that He is too wise to err, too good to be unkind?

Whilst riding over the pra[i]ries yesterday, and admiring the beauties of the outward creation, given us richly to enjoy, I thought how fleeting, short-lived, and uncertain are all earthly things: "And that he builds too low, who builds beneath the skies." A circumstance was related to me a few days ago which took place during a tempest which we witnessed a few days since. On that fatal afternoon, a man who had retired from business, and was comfortably married, anticipating much domestic enjoyment with his family, had taken a pleasure boat and they were sailing down the river, when suddenly the storm arose, and before they reached the shore, the boat capsized; the wife and children were drowned, and the unfortunate father had an hair-breadth escape from losing his life. Surely such things should deeply impress our minds with the injunction, "Be ye also ready, for at such a time as ye think not, the Son of Man cometh."

This little town like many others in Iowa appears to be laid out on a large scale, but the buildings are far apart, many of them having plots of land & gardens around. Our lodgings are on one side of a large square in a central situation, having a view of the broad belt of timber bordering the Iowa River. This stream has overflowed its banks and

spread over the adjoining land, and I felt much afraid yesterday on hearing that on approaching the town, the waters were so deep that the horses had to swim, but fortunately we entered on the other side.

On awakening early this morning I heard the tinkling of the cow bell, & the peculiar sound of the pra[i]rie chickens.

Rain has fallen during the night, & the sky is cloudy.

3rd, 6 mo.—Marietta. Last night was a stormy one, with hail, rain, thunder & lighting, flashes of the latter being very vivid, and almost continuous until daybreak. A friend took us in a waggon to Hartland, where 7 families keep up a meeting in a school house. A stranger had some service. My dear husband addressed us, and it seemed to be my place to bow the knee in prayer. Dined at Ira Cook's, who afterwards drove us 8 miles to Bangor where a new Quarterly Meeting is to be opened on seventh day called Western Plains. Lodged at the house of a highly gifted minister James Owen, where we met our worthy & honored friend Asenath Clark.

7th, 6 mo.—Bangor, Second day. Attended the Select meeting on sixth day morning which was an interesting time. Dined in company with Lindly Murray Hoag and his lovely young wife, the former is looking well but thinner than when I last saw him in England.

On seventh day morning the Q. M. opened at 11 a. m.¹⁵ A new meeting house is now in course of erection, but was blown down a few weeks since, and they have not been able to finish it for this interesting occasion. The old meeting house is a rude log building, in addition to which a temporary shed was erected, calculated to hold 300 persons, and the day being fine there was a full attendance. We had the

¹⁵ The Bangor Quarterly Meeting, opened on June 5, 1868, was the fourth Quarterly Meeting established in Iowa.

company of Rebecca Updegraph from Ohio, who is a woman of good natural talent, & largely gifted as a minister. She was the only daughter of Jonathan Taylor who died in Ireland whilst on a visit to the British Isles. She had considerable service in this meeting, and several other friends preached to us: prayers were offered and it was a favored time.

The discipline was conducted in good feeling; James Owen, was liberated for service in Indiana. It was with much difficulty, and at the hazard of their lives that some parties got there. Three men had to swim across one stream, and to walk thro' another where the water reached up to the waist. They carried their clothes upon their heads; and altho' undergoing such hardships, they did not appear to have suffered materially, and I heard one of the party say that he felt well rewarded for his trouble in attending the meetings. Three others who had minutes for religious service only got here on 7th day evening. We had a *very* full meeting yesterday, wherein the Lord was mercifully pleased to own us by the breaking of bread. Rebecca Updegraph & Asenath Clark took a prominent part in the service of the meeting. Several other friends were engaged in the ministry, & we had a short address from James Owen, who is pretty much self taught as to outward learning: but his mind seems to have been cast in a superior mold. He is eloquent & has a fine gift as a minister.

Took leave of our friends after dinner, & rode 10 miles to Providence, where about 20 families hold a meeting in a school house. Lodged at Eleazer Andrews & this morning attended an appointed meeting where we met John & Daniel Barker, on similar service. The Lord was our helper, & I trust a little seed was sown which under his blessing may bring forth fruit to his praise. Being furnished with a carriage & horses, accompanied by John Kinsey, we came to

Dab Creek this morning. Had the river been fordable the distance was only 8 miles but going round to a bridge made it 13.

10th, 6 mo.—Fifth day. On third day we had a meeting in a school house which was much crowded, & there seemed no means of ventilation. My R L had considerable service, but it was a suffering time to me both in body & mind. Lodged at Edmund Kinsey's and at 6 p. m. set out on a journey of 160 miles. The first 15 was over the unfenced pra[i]ries where we did not see a dwelling house, and only one grove of trees. Came thro' the country town of Grundy which is in an infantile state only containing 8 houses, and a newly erected court house. Want of timber seems to prevent this section of Iowa from being much settled: stone is also very scarce. We often see bad places in the roads mended with branches of trees & sticks, & the interstices filled up with straw. Lodged at a comfortable farm house; and this morning rode thro' Waterloo, the County seat of Black Hawk, to Jane[s]ville where we dined, & crossed the Red Cedar River. Slept at Syracuse.

12th, 6 mo.—Seventh day. Recrossed the river at Nashua over a high bridge, but were informed that we could not get over the bayous & forks beyond, without considerable risk, but our driver using needful precautions we ventured and got safely through. After passing through the small towns of Bradford & Chickasaw, we came to a district which was a continuation of the sloughs & wet land for about two miles. After plunging for some time our horses got into a deep place & one of them fell down. We alighted & walked some distance to a house, while the friend, our driver, sought a better path for the horses.

After dinner our kind host accompanied us to the Wap-sipinicon River with the intention of rendering us some

assistance in crossing, but we found the water overflowing the banks, and a rapid bayou had formed which we could not cross except at the hazard of our lives, so we concluded to return to the house & wait until next morning. But finding the stream still impassible & my husband feeling his mind drawn in gospel love towards the people in this thinly settled district where there is no regular place of worship, notice has been given of a meeting to be held in a school house tomorrow morning.

14th, 6 mo.—About 20 persons attended the meeting and ability was afforded to discharge apprehended duty—To the Lord be all the praise! In the afternoon accompanied by our host, Charles Daman, & 3 youths we again went to the river side & found the water had fallen a little, so with about an hour's hard labor, during which our host was sometimes up to the waist in water, we were helped thro' the bayou & over the bridge. But fresh difficulties arose on finding the main road impassible, and we had to get a guide to lead us round into a road where the horses could travel. Took up our quarters for the night at a country hotel called "Pettibones" where we found comfortable quarters. After setting out this morning we found some bad sloughs in one of which our horses fell down, and had to be released from the carriage. Fortunately help was near, and a couple of oxen were borrowed to extricate our carriage. Such circumstances are extremely harassing & discouraging at the time, but He without whose notice not even a sparrow falleth to the ground "out of seeming evil still educeth good". And in this case our catastrophe was the means of introducing us to a very interesting family who removed here from Canada some time ago, but were under much discouragement on account of their bad location, want of religious society, and schools for the education of their children. The district is very broken & much covered with hazel

bushes. Some of the cleared ground is of such a loose & rotten texture that it will not bear the weight of the cattle without their sinking up to the knees.

When within about 2 miles of the first settlement of friends in Winneshiek, the face of the country changed and we again entered fine smooth pra[i]rie land.

Reached the house of Enos George at Fairview about 4 p. m. truly glad once more to get amongst our own class of friends, tho' many of them seem to have but few of the comforts and conveniences of life: but they gave us a welcome and did their best to accommodate us.

15th, 6 mo.—Third day. At Decorah, the County town of Winneshiek, situated on the upper Iowa River. This morning we had a meeting at Fairview where about 7 families hold a regular indulged meeting. Best help being near, we had a satisfactory opportunity. After dinner drove 20 miles to this place which is beautifully situated in the centre of limestone bluffs, in a wooded district. We are the guests of Joseph Gibbons & wife, refined & agreeable friends. In concluding this packet of letters I may say, that tho' often feeling faint hearted, we are mercifully enabled to pursue the path of duty, day by day, so far as we are enabled to discern it, & have an abundant reason once more to set up an Ebenezer to the Lord's praise.

18th, 6 mo.—Left Decorah on fourth day morning & rode 6 miles to Spring Water where a meeting was held in a newly erected meeting house. The Lord was our helper, and close doctrine was applied to such as might be in a lukewarm state, and have lost the dew of their youth.

Dined at L. Blackman's, and rode 10 miles to attend a meeting called Winneshiek: lodged at Tristrem Allen's,¹⁶

¹⁶ Tristram Allen, an "acknowledged minister" from Michigan, was one of the pioneers among the Quaker settlements in Winneshiek County, which date from the year 1853.

and found the meeting house in an unfinished state. The Lord was mercifully pleased to own us, & my dear husband had good service in unison with the exercise of my own mind. "If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace" is a text which is consistent with gospel order: my own mind often being exercised upon subjects which my R L gives expression to, & I esteem it a favor to be a silent burden bearer.

The weather has been fine for some days: yesterday the thermometer stood at 90° in the shade, and the heat was almost overpowering. We are now at Thomas Painter's at Pleasant Valley where an indulged meeting is kept up which we attended, and were enabled to discharge ourselves of apprehended duty. Left the place the same afternoon and proceeded towards the next meeting, distant 50 miles, in an open waggon upon springs: a young man called William Proud is our guide & driver.

Called by the way to see L. Jones & family who removed here from Ohio after being unsuccessful in business. Their change of circumstances appears to be deeply felt by his wife towards whom the language of encouragement was felt & expressed.¹⁷

20th, 6 mo.—First day. On sixth day night we lodged at a small hotel which we were recommended as a good house. The inmates seemed clean & tidy persons, but the travelers bed room contained 6 beds, of which we had the choice, but were much disappointed with our ordinary accommodations. The scenery by which we are now surrounded is a contrast to the green grassy plains over which we have lately passed. Here we find the unfenced pra[i]rie

¹⁷ At this point the travelers left Iowa and made a hasty trip through portions of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Illinois, returning later for a farewell visit in Iowa. There seems no good reason, however, for omitting the portion of the journal which relates to the hurried journey outside the boundaries of this State.

dotted over with a small growth of timber, or covered with oak & hazel bushes. We see many stony bluffs, & travel thro' passes between the hills, from some of which issue fine springs of water. Yesterday afternoon we arrived at Elk Horn in Minnesota, & lodged with our worthy friends, David & Phebe Steers: but the night was one which we shall long remember from the prevalence of the mosquitoes which were so numerous, so noisy, & tormenting, that with all our ingenuity it seemed in vain to court sleep, & scarcely got any: consequently we feel languid this morning.

There are a number of friends families around here who hold an indulged meeting in one of their houses: but this morning we met in a school house which was filled well by friends & others. God gave the word which his feeble instruments were enabled to publish, I trust to the relief & peace of their own minds. Here we found George Moor who emigrated from Darlington about 7 years ago. Great is the loss which many sustain from coming into newly formed settlements in this country. Several of G. Moor's sons & his only daughter have married & left our society, and the Father was said to be remiss in the attendance of meetings. Persons upon the frontiers can raise food for their household pretty readily, by the cultivation of their land, but in general if there is not a good market at a reasonable distance very little money passes through their hands. Their dress & furniture are of the simplest kind, and we often see home made bed stocks, tables, &c., &c. Cleanliness which is said to be next to Godliness, I regret to say is too seldom seen, & order, heaven's first law, too much neglected, but there are exceptions.

22nd, 6 mo.—Third day. Parted from our worthy friends D & P Steers, on first day afternoon in an open waggon, the best vehicle which our friends possessed. Our driver not knowing the road, we made the distance longer than need

be, & did not arrive at Rochester until late in the evening. Finding the exposure of the sun very oppressive and in addition to the inflammation caused by the bites of the mosquitoes, a painful eruption having broken out upon my limbs, we concluded to dismiss the waggon and go forward by a public stage to Lake City where we arrived about 4 p. m. wearied in body, the stage being much crowded.

This town is beautifully situated upon the banks of Lake Pepin, which is formed by the spreading out of the River Mississippi. As the time seemed uncertain when a steam boat would arrive by which we would proceed to St. Pauls, the capitol of Minnesota, we retired early and at 6 o'clock next morning were on board the Metropolitan steam boat. The scenery on this part of the river is very beautiful. We passed a range of high rocks of a cheese like form, the tops of which were smooth grassy plains, and the sides perpendicular down to the banks of the river. Every few miles we pass small towns, or villages, and we make frequent calls to take in freight or passengers. After jolting in an open waggon under a scorching sun, I have much enjoyed the change, & this has been a day of rest where in I could look with pleasure upon the varied natural beauties around and in something of filial confidence say: "My Father made them all." Arrived at St. Paul's the same afternoon, having made 100 miles. Took up our quarters at a comfortable inn called Fullers House, where we found ourselves much at home, having a bed & sitting room to ourselves. Few but the weary traveller can tell how grateful it is to meet with a comfortable inn where he can have a little quiet & retirement. Within the last few days the thermometer has been 80 in the shade.

24th, 6 mo.—Left St. Pauls yesterday afternoon by public stage & rode 12 miles to St. Anthony, thro' a beautifully wooded country, and the land well cultivated. The Indian

corn is much forwarder here than in Iowa, and the soil being sandy, the roads are much better. The navigation here is obstructed by the Falls, which are rocky projections stretching across the Mississippi, at no great elevation, down which the waters fall, and are made use of for some extensive saw mills. The stream narrows above, and a chain bridge has been thrown across over which we crossed to Minneapolis which is a considerable town. These towns have sprung up within the last four years, & contain together about 10,000 inhabitants of a superior class chiefly from the New England States, and great improvements have been made.

We are the guests of Joseph H. Canney & Ursula, his wife, who reside in a wooded district about a mile from the town where they have a beautiful cottage containing several rooms both up & down stairs which are kept in nice order altho they keep no domestic servant. Their only offspring is a little son. These friends removed here about 4 years ago, before the Indians left the territory, & their house was the third erected in the neighbourhood.

This morning J. H. Canney drove us 30 miles to Simone where a few friends reside. Yesterday & today we have met droves of the $\frac{1}{2}$ breed Indians from the Red River settlement about 600 miles distant. They are in the habit of coming down to St. Pauls once a year bringing various kinds of skins which they exchange for clothing and other small things which they require. They have small carts railed round the sides: the wheels are large but made without iron hoops, and they are drawn by an ox or a pony. We passed the place where a large company of them had encamped for the night, during which heavy rain had fallen, & the squaws had spread bedding, clothing, &c upon the bushes to dry. They seem quiet & harmless, and we were informed that they sometimes remain for months in the

neighbourhood, being very cautious in disposing of their cattle, wares, &c.

We have seen many fine lakes this morning; & we dined at a lonely house in the bush where we saw a beautiful young fawn, which had been caught a few days before. These lovely creatures soon become very tame and domestic & follow the children around the house. In riding along we nearly ran over a tortoise; its body was about a $\frac{1}{2}$ a yard long: we understand they are numerous in swampy ground. On the way we met Rice Price who returned & took us to his house where we lodged.

28th, 6 mo.—Second day. We had an appointed meeting at Rice Prices on sixth day morning, when some of the neighbours were present, and we sat down about 40 persons. My dear husband addressed us from the text: This is a faithful saying & worthy of all acceptance: that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners &c. There are three families of friends here who reside within two miles of each other, but they are not in the habit of holding meetings for worship together. Our worthy friend, Sarah M. Hiatt, resides here who is an acknowledged minister. My R. L. found it to be his duty to encourage them to keep up a meeting.

This is the most northerly point where friends are located in Minnesota.

We returned to Minneapolis on seventh day, and yesterday had an appointed meeting with friends & their connections, in a public room, when my dear husband was largely engaged in pleading with sinners to flee from the wrath to come, & shewing the inefficacy of good works to secure our eternal salvation. But encouragement was given to the tender hearted followers of Christ. The members of our society being requested to remain at the close of the meeting, the necessity of upholding our testimonies before the

world was pressed upon them. Spent the afternoon at our lodgings in company with some other friends.

Accompanied by our host we rode about 20 miles this morning to Perkinsville: nearly half the distance lay thro a wood which extended for about 40 miles in a westerly direction. The road thro' the wood was bad and we found the mosquitoes very troublesome. Several families of friends settled here a few years since, but we only found two remaining. A visitation of grasshoppers injured their crops for two years which, together with other things, caused some of them to remove.

John Perkins resides at the head of Independence Lake, which is two miles long and contains fish of various kinds.

30th, 6 mo.—Yesterday we had an appointed meeting in a school house for our friends & their neighbours, when my R L had good service in the ministry, & was also engaged in prayer. I felt much oppressed with the heat, and unfit to attend such a meeting but the Lord was strength in weakness & a very present helper in the needful times.

"I will not let thee go until thou bless me" is a resolution which seldom fails to draw down the divine blessing, altho' our faith may only seem as a grain of mustard seed, yet under the animating influence of holy anointing it may be increased like the loaves & small fishes which not only satisfied the multitude, but left many baskets full of fragments.

After partaking of refreshment we returned to Minneapolis, and as my dear husband felt it to be his duty to appoint a public meeting with the inhabitants of this place & St. Anthony this evening, we remain here until fifth day morning. During our sojourn here we have been much oppressed with the heat.

1st, 7 mo.—On board the steam boat Milwaukie, sailing down the Mississippi River. Made up my journal for Eng-

land yesterday, and in the evening went to the public meeting, but the room was not near filled with people: my dear Husband had good service in preaching the unsearchable riches of Christ, and I was made willing to bow the knee in prayer.

Took a final leave of our very kind friends J. Canney & wife this morning, and came to St. Pauls by stage where we took the boat to La Crosse in Wisconsin, a distance of 208 miles. Last night there was a heavy storm of rain & wind accompanied by thunder & lightning, which shattered the steeple of a church which had been recently built, and other damages were done. The rain has cooled the air, which is an agreeable change: the hot weather has affected our health so much that we feared its continuance.

The lodging rooms are generally very small & low, and the upper rooms being sometimes open to the roof: the shingles which cover the roof get heated in the day time, and at night the apartments feel like a dry house.

Amongst the farmers in the country we get no fresh meat, and seldom any kind but fried bacon, or dried beef, shaved. The bread is generally only half baked & sometimes we have no vegetables, which has been rather injurious to me: but we can generally make a meal of something, and often find good milk.

3rd, 7 mo.—Seventh day. We made the voyage to La Crosse in 14 hours, from whence we proceeded to Veroqua, the county seat of Bad Ax, in which vicinity we expected to find some friends. Our route was thro' a romantic district with ranges of hills varied in form from that of a sugar loaf to bold rocky topped projections like ruined castles. Between the ranges lay rich valleys & deep ravines, which are chiefly settled by Germans, or Norwegians of the lower class, some of whom have not made many improvements. The roads are bad and so often varied & turned by new

settlers that our driver who had often passed that way got perplexed, and night closing upon us, at a time when we could not see a single house we felt in a tried situation, thinking it unsafe to proceed; but at last we were cheered by the sight of a light at a distance and were favored to reach our place of destination in safety about 10 p. m.

5th, 7 mo.—Second day. On making enquiry for the friends settlement, we could only hear of one family about 5 miles distant who had any connection with us.

On arriving at the house of Isaac Williams we found he had a wife and 14 children, 3 of whom lived under his roof, & 5 others were married and settled around him. It appeared that I. W. had not a birthright in our society, but his parents joined friends afterwards. His wife lost her membership by marriage, but both herself & husband seemed to be friends in principle: the former still wore a plain & simple dress. They had a number of friends' books, upon which they set great value.

The family came here from Ohio about 4 years ago and they have now a farm of 900 acres. Notice having been given to the neighbours, a meeting was held yesterday morning in a large unfinished barn belonging to our host, which was attended by about 40 persons. My dear husband spoke at some length, commencing with the text: "It is appointed unto all men once to die, and after that the judgment." After taking his seat, one of the company arose and expressed his unity with what had been said, its accordance with scripture, & his desire that the company might lay these things to heart.

Having been at extra expence, & traveled some distance in search of a settlement of friends that we had been told of, but all to no purpose, my R L felt easy to proceed & leave them. So W Williams drove us the same afternoon to Bad Ax City, which consisted of about 8 dwellings on the banks

of the River Mississippi, where we lodged. Arose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 o'clock this morning and waited until 6 a. m. when a steam boat arrived which, being signalled by our host, drew near to land, and we went on board the "Northern Bell."

Having had some hard rough traveling in an open farm waggon under a burning sun, this was a day of rest, and I much enjoyed the morning breeze, and admired the varied rocky cliffs, the highest of which is said to be 400 feet. But whilst my mind involuntarily turned and dwelt upon the many hardships and inconveniences which we sometimes meet with in passing along, I was comforted by remembering the scripture declaration: "These light afflictions which are but for a moment, work for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory whilst we look not at the things that are seen, but at those which are unseen, for the things that are seen are temporal, but the things which are unseen are eternal."

After sailing 60 miles we landed at the busy little town of Pra[i]rie-du-Chien at 11 a. m. and dined at a comfortable Inn: and at $\frac{1}{2}$ past five the same evening took the railway cars to Milwaukie, a distance of 196 miles, to Lake Michigan quite across the State of Wisconsin.

8th, 7 mo.—It was a great discomfort to us to travel thro' the night, and we were much annoyed by some of the passengers being worse for liquor.

Reached Milwaukie, a flourishing and well built town containing 50,000 inhabitants, on second day morning and were gratified to find that a boat sailed daily up the Lake to Sheboygan, distant 50 miles. Took an early breakfast at an Inn & soon after 7 a. m. we were sailing up the beautiful lake with its light green waters: but I was too much tried & exhausted to enjoy the trip, & glad to lie down and rest. Dined on board, & reached Sheboygan about 1 p. m. where

we hired a carriage and drove 20 miles to Glen Beulah, the residence of Joseph Swift who removed here from Massachusetts about a year since. He has a wife & two married daughters who with their husbands reside under the same roof. The young men are engaged in business with their Father-in-law who has a flour mill and keeps a general store. Their house is a good sized frame building, and it added much to our comfort to find that they kept up the customs & manners of the eastern States: their house being a picture of cleanliness, neatness, and order. J. S. was captain of a vessel for some years & has crossed the Atlantic many times.

Yesterday morning we had an appointed meeting with them and their neighbours in a school house which was well filled & owned by Him who remains to be the crown & diadem of all rightly exercised assemblies.

After dinner we had a private interview with the family, and were enabled to enter into sympathy with them in their isolated situation. Returned to Sheboygan from whence we went to Milwaukie where we came by train to Lyonsdale, 30 miles, but were disappointed to find the family that we wished to see had removed and as there was no train by which we could go forward that evening, & no hotel in the place, we were at a loss what to do. There are no authorized meetings in the State of Wisconsin, and we did not know of any persons connected with our society being near. But in course of conversation we heard of a family who lived within $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, so we got a guide to conduct us to the house of uncle David Lyon, as he was called, who gave us a kind reception. The family have lived in this neighbourhood about 16 years: the wife keeps to her plain dress, & both parents & children appear to be members of our society, tho' several of the children have married non members. Arrangements having been made, a meeting was held

in a school house this afternoon to which the neighbours were invited, when thro' the Lord's help, I trust the gospel was preached, and we had renewed cause to set up an Ebenezer to his praise. We learn that there are some friends settled at a place called Honey Creek, 10 miles distant, who occasionally come here & sit down with the Lyons for the purpose of divine worship, and at other times David Lyons family go to Honey Creek.

11th, 7 mo.—First day. At Honey Creek where we arrived yesterday accompanied by David Lyon & one of his daughters, and lodged at John Cregars who has lived here 12 years. We find two families who are members of our society, and a number of others who are more or less connected.

At my dear husbands request, a chapter was read in the Testament after breakfast this morning, and he called the attention of our friends to the benefit likely to result from the performance of this reasonable duty. At 11 a. m. we attended a meeting which had been appointed in the village school to which the public were invited, when my R L had good service in setting forth the simple nature of true religion: "Believe & obey, & your souls shall live." The friends were invited to meet us at the place where we dined, when the canopy of divine love spread over us, our hearts were contrited under a feeling of the Lords goodness, and ability was given to address the people.

13th, 7 mo.—State of Illinois. Third day. Yesterday morning took rail and came 55 miles to Durant [Durand] in Illinois; and as the railway is not completed, we had to hire a carriage to proceed 23 miles further to Freeport, passing thro' a well cultivated & timbered district, enjoying a cool evening ride. At 4 o'clock this morning we were seated in a railway car & traveled 50 miles to Galena, a fair

sized town on the banks of the Mississippi. Having been informed that there were friends in this locality, I staid at an hotel while my husband went into the town to make enquiries but he could only hear of such as were connected with the Hicksites, but finding some of these very friendly and their hearts open to receive us, a meeting is appointed to be held this evening.

Got tea at T Frazers, and at 7 p. m. met a small company at the house of D. S. Harris when the great and leading truths of vital christianity were bro't to view, based upon the one sinless offering of our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, for the sins of the whole world.

15th, 7 mo.—Fifth day. Lodged at friend Harris' last night, he was from home following his calling, that of captain of a steam boat. But his wife whose maiden name was Sarah Coates from Pennsylvania, we found to be a superior woman & of talented mind, with whom it was a treat to mingle in social converse. Their house compared to many is like a mansion, and the gardens tastefully laid out, and all things seeming in good order. We should have liked a longer tarrience in the company of this interesting woman but sterner duties called us to depart, and a steam boat being about to sail down the river, we had to take leave and tear ourselves away; going on board at noon.

After considerable detention, we reached Muscatine about 4 p. m. yesterday, having sailed 154 miles. The weather has been agreeable the last few days, with slight showers. Thermometer 67. Having ordered letters to meet us here, we found 3 from home, containing favorable accounts from our dear family.

A meeting is appointed to be held here tomorrow. On first day we expect to be at a small meeting 12 miles distant, & then to bid farewell to Iowa, and after visiting a few meetings in Illinois to proceed into Michigan. We are in

usual health and can bear testimony to the unfailing goodness of Him whom we desire to serve.

19th, 7 mo.—Muscatine, Iowa. Where I am penciling notes in a room on the second story of an hotel where we are waiting for a steamboat to convey us to Burlington, 60 miles distant. Very heavy rain has been falling for some time, and there is quite a thunder storm, & I have just heard an explosion close by, like the firing of a cannon: two young people who were sitting in the same room rose to their feet as if they had been shot. My dear R L was sitting in the passage of the hotel beside our luggage and on hearing the noise, turned his head towards the door, and saw a ball of fire about 9 inches in diameter which immediately burst, & exploded about a yard from the ground and within a few yards from the door of the hotel. Fortunately no harm was done. I posted my home journal on seventh day & in the afternoon we had a meeting with the friends here, held for the first time in an unfinished meeting house. Best help was near to our comfort & encouragement, & I trust to the revival of best things in the hearts of some of the little flock. Took tea at Brinton Darlington's. Yesterday morning Samuel Adams drove us 13 miles to Atalissa where a few friends reside, but do not keep up a meeting. We had to cross several bayous before reaching Cedar River, some of which were so deep that the water came up to the bottom of our carriage.

Public notice having been given of a meeting for worship to be held in a large warehouse at the railway depot, there was a full & respectable attendance, to whom my dear husband was strengthened to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ; and Samuel Adams united in the service. Thomas & Annabella Winn & Son, and other friends met us here from Spring Dale, 13 miles distant, with whom we had a parting opportunity after dinner, commending one an-

other unto God, & to the word of his grace, &c. This morning we had a favored season with S Adams & family, whose comfortable house has been a home for us during the last few days. S Adams is a man of noble exterior and has a fine & cultivated mind. A gift in the ministry has been conferred upon him, but having experienced a reverse of fortune, on a dark & cloudy day he resigned his membership in our society, nevertheless the cause of truth seems increasingly dear to him, & he was much drawn out in prayer & praise this morning, to our comfort: our dear children were interceded for & our hearts were contrited before the Lord.

21st, 7 mo.—Lodged at Burlington on second day night & next morning came 95 miles by rail to Peoria, a wide spread country town on the Illinois. The unusual amount of rain which has fallen during the last few months has proved injurious to the crops; and the wheat & oats are much injured. This afternoon we reached the town of Brimfield, and proceeded to the house of James Abbatt where we met a kind reception. He has a comfortable house which we approach thro' an avenue of trees of his own planting, but the country is very flat. The town has much increased of late, & property has become more valuable: but money is scarce or our friend would like to sell his farm & live more retired. Since returning from a recent trip to England he has felt rather discouraged, having found out the great advantages which Britain's children enjoy in various ways. The inordinate love of money and land in this country too often break down the noble principles of honesty and fair dealing, down from the statesman to the peasant. Bribery is carried on in political matters to a fearful extent, & the executive government appears to be very corrupt. The feeling of independence runs thro' all classes, few of the poorer girls will go out to service, and

those who do go out want 1½ dollars a week for imperfect work, and are apt to leave at unawares; consequently many families prefer doing their own work. Many of the women servants are either German, Swiss, or Irish. A farmers wife has to work hard to keep things clean & tidy but they are too often content to drag on from day to day without much concern about these things.¹⁸

¹⁸ From Iowa, Robert and Sarah Lindsey returned through various eastern States to New York City, whence, on June 20, 1859, they sailed for California by way of Panama. From there they went to the Sandwich Islands and Australia, and it was not until July 24, 1861, that they arrived in England, thus bringing to an end their last voyage to foreign lands. See *Travels of Robert and Sarah Lindsey*, pp. 134-185.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Travel and Description 1765-1865. (*Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, Vol. IX.) By SOLON JUSTUS BUCK. Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library. 1914. Pp. xi, 514. Portrait, plates. Writers of the early history of Illinois will find this bibliography of great value. The first two hundred and fifty pages are occupied with a list of books or items containing accounts of travel in Illinois, geographies, guide-books, and gazetteers — six hundred and sixty in all — covering the period from the occupation by the English down to the close of the Civil War. Explanatory annotations accompany the various items, making it possible for the reader to determine in general what the item contains, while the libraries where the items may be found are indicated in all cases. The value of the works here listed for historical purposes needs no comment; and it will be recognized without question that Dr. Buck has rendered an important service in preparing the exhaustive bibliography. Furthermore, the value of the work does not apply solely to Illinois, for many of the books listed deal also with the surrounding States. For instance, at least fifteen guide-books and other items which contain material relating to Iowa are listed.

Following the list of works of travel and description there is a bibliography of county histories, arranged alphabetically by counties and coming down to date. Then comes a list of the volumes of session laws, compilations, codes, and revisions of the State of Illinois. An excellent index completes the volume.

The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution. (*University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. II, Nos. 2 and 3.) By PAUL CHRISLER PHILLIPS, PH. D. Urbana: The University of Illinois. 1913. Pp. 247. This monograph deals definitely with a subject of vital importance in the history of the West which hitherto has been discussed only incidentally or in certain phases.

American, British, French, and Spanish diplomats were engaged in the contest which eventually resulted in placing the western boundary of the United States at the Mississippi River. The twelve chapters of the book deal with the origins of the problem, Vergennes and Spanish diplomacy, the question of the West, the French alliance, Florida Blanca and the convention with France, the development of a Congressional policy toward the West, Vergennes and the allies of France, Luzerne and the pretensions of Spain, the triumph of the anti-Gallican party, the close of the war, Vergennes and the negotiations for peace, and the treaty of peace. A bibliography of sources and an index complete the contents.

Dr. Phillips in this monograph has made a distinct contribution to the history of the West, and throws much new light on the struggle of the nations to gain or retain control of the Mississippi Valley. The work was written with painstaking care largely from original sources.

Masters of the Wilderness ("Fort Dearborn Series", published by the Chicago Historical Society). By CHARLES BERT REED. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1914. Pp. 144. Plates, maps. This attractive little volume contains three papers. The first, bearing the same title as the book and occupying fifty pages, consists of a concise and very readable account of the history of the Hudson's Bay Company from its origin down to modern times. The establishment of the great fur trade monopoly, the secrecy maintained by the company, the enormous profits of the enterprise, the picturesque life and hardships of the traders, the relations with the Indians, struggles with rivals, and the final decline of the company — all these are clearly and interestingly set forth. The second paper, headed *The Beaver Club*, discloses another phase of the same subject, namely, the social aspects of the fur trade as shown in the life of the partners and chief factors at Montreal, Fort William, and other central points.

The third paper, entitled *A Dream of Empire*, turns from the frozen lands of the north to the region of the lower Mississippi Valley and tells of the heroic adventures of Henry de Tonty — the man with the iron hand — and especially of the period after the

murder of La Salle. A brief bibliography closes the volume, which will serve a useful purpose in giving its readers a good, general idea of the subjects which it covers.

John Brown, Soldier of Fortune: A Critique. By HILL PEEBLES WILSON. Lawrence, Kansas: Published by the author. 1913. Pp. 450. Portraits. John Brown will doubtless long continue to be an attractive subject for the biographer and the historian, although he is a man about whom it is extremely difficult to write dispassionately and without prejudice. The attitude of the writer of the volume under review may be judged from a few quotations. On page 401 he says: "The years of Brown's life were a constant, persistent, strenuous struggle to get money. As to the means which should be employed in the getting of it, he was indifferent. In his philosophy, results were paramount; the means to the end were of no consequence. A stranger to honor, he violated every confidence that should be held sacred among men; and in his avarice trampled upon every law, moral and statute, human and Divine." In his closing estimate the author declares that Brown will live, not as one who has "wrought for humanity and for righteousness", but "as a soldier of fortune, an adventurer. He will take his place in history as such; and will rank among adventurers as Napoleon ranks among marshalls; as Captain Kidd among pirates; and as Jonathan Wild among thieves."

In view of the fact that historical literature is so full of the spirit of hero worship in dealing with John Brown perhaps the cause of history will be served by a book which goes far toward the opposite extreme. At any rate the volume is a contribution of much value. It contains considerable documentary material and numerous references to sources, both primary and secondary. In fact, the author's avowed purpose is to offset the work of such biographers as James Redpath, Frank B. Sanborn, and Oswald G. Villard who, he says, "have misinformed and misled the public concerning the true character of this figure in our national history; and have established instead a fictitious character, which is wholly illogical and inconsistent with the facts and circumstances of Brown's life."

In the April number of the *Columbia Law Review* there is, among other things, a discussion of *States' Rights and the Webb-Kenyon Liquor Law*, by Winfred T. Denison.

Charles Scribner's Sons are the publishers of a volume of *Readings in American History*, compiled by James Alton James of Northwestern University.

Roland G. Usher of Washington University at St. Louis is the author of a volume on *The Rise of the American People*, which has been published by The Century Company.

The D. Appleton Company has brought out the first volume of a three-volume *Cyclopedia of American Government*, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart and Andrew C. McLaughlin. Iowans whose names appear in the list of contributors are Jesse Macy, Irving B. Richman, and Benj. F. Shambaugh. It is expected that the entire set will be off the press by the end of the summer. A more detailed notice is therefore deferred until the complete work appears.

In *The American Political Science Review* for May there appears a discussion of *The Judicial Bulwark of the Constitution*, by Frank E. Melvin; Bernard Moses writes on *Government in Spanish America*. The subject of an article by Louis A. Frothingham is *The Removal of Judges by Legislative Address in Massachusetts*. Finally, *Some Neglected Factors in Law-Making* are pointed out by Ernest Bruncken. Among the *Legislative Notes and Reviews* are notes on legislative investigations, changes in legislative procedure in 1913, bill drafting, the initiative and referendum, the public health council in New York, and constitutional amendments.

The March number of the *American Labor Legislation Review* contains the proceedings of the seventh annual meeting of the American Association for Labor Legislation. Various phases of administration and industrial relations, sickness insurance, and working hours in continuous industries are discussed in the different papers. The May number of the *Review* contains the proceedings of the First National Conference on Unemployment held in New York City on February 27 and 28, 1914.

State Regulation of Public Utilities, a subject of widespread current interest, is the general topic of discussion in the May number of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The various papers are grouped under seven headings: legislation as to State public utility commissions, State regulation and municipal activities, uniform accounting and franchises, public control over securities, valuation of public utilities, electric and water rates, and standards for service.

WESTERN AMERICANA

A monograph on *The Beginnings of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District*, written by Anne E. Hughes, occupies a number of the *University of California Publications in History* published in April, 1914.

The proceedings of *The Celebration of the Centenary of the Supreme Court of Louisiana* on March 1, 1913, have been printed in pamphlet form.

In volume ten, number six of the *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* there may be found some *Notes on the Chilula Indians of Northwestern California*, by Pliny Earle Goddard.

The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912, is the subject of a thesis by Robert Preston Brooks which appears as a recent number of the *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*.

A. L. Kroeber and J. P. Harrington collaborated in the preparation of a brief monograph on the *Phonetic Elements of the Diegneno Language* which was published in April in the series of *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*.

A phase of western military operations during the Civil War is discussed in the May number of the *Journal of the United States Cavalry Association* in an article by George B. Davis on *The Cavalry Operations in Middle Tennessee in October, 1863*.

Volume eleven, numbers five and six of the *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* consist of discus-

sions of the following subjects, respectively: *Dancing Societies of the Sarsi Indians*, by Pliny Earle Goddard; and *Political Organization, Cults, and Ceremonies of the Plains-Ojibway and Plains-Cree Indians*, by Alanson Skinner.

A two hundred and sixty page monograph on *Slavery in Missouri 1804-1865*, by Harrison Anthony Trexler, constitutes a recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. Missouri slavery as an economic system; the slave before the law; the social status of the slave; the slavery issue in politics and in the churches; Senator Benton and slavery; Missouri and Kansas; manumission, conciliation, and emancipation, are the subjects treated in the seven chapters of the study.

An article on *Syndicalism and Socialism and their Meaning*, by Frank L. McVey, occupies first place in *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for April. A *Statistical Study in the Influence of Environment* is presented by George R. Davies. James E. Boyle describes the *First Case Under Canada's Combines Investigation Act — The United Shoe Machinery Company*; and John Morris Gillette discusses *The Organic Concept and Society*.

The Different West, by Arthur E. Bostwick, Librarian of the St. Louis Public Library, is a book published by A. C. McClurg & Co. which contains a sympathetic account of life in the West "as seen by a transplanted Easterner". The "West" of the volume is made up of the States bordering on the Mississippi. Among the subjects treated in the thirteen chapters of the book are the East's misunderstanding of the West and the West's misunderstanding of the East; the political and economic unrest in the West; education, literature, science, art, and society in the West; the sources of the population of the West; and the speech and manners of the West. The book is written in a very readable style and should help to destroy misconceptions concerning this region.

A monograph on *The Development of Banking in Illinois, 1817-1863*, by George William Dowrie, constitutes volume two, number four of the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences*. The monograph is divided into five chapters dealing respectively

with the monetary situation in Illinois previous to the establishment of banks, the Territorial banks, banking as a State monopoly, banking and internal improvements, and the free bank system of Illinois.

The Vanishing Race: The Last Great Indian Council, written by Joseph K. Dixon, is a handsome volume brought out by Doubleday, Page and Company. The book would be well worth while if it were only for the eighty beautiful photogravures of Indian chiefs and Indian life. The motive prompting the preparation and publication of the volume is the need and duty of students and investigators to study and record the life, manners, customs, and traditions of a "vanishing race". The first thirty-five pages are taken up with a discussion of *Indian Imprints*. Then follow a number of stories told by various chiefs, stories told by the surviving Custer scouts, the Indians' story of the Custer fight, and a description of the "Last Great Indian Council" on February 22, 1913.

A carefully prepared thesis on *The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire*, written by William J. Trimble, appears as a recent *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin*. It constitutes, as is indicated on the title page, "a comparative study of the beginnings of the mining industry in Idaho and Montana, eastern Washington and Oregon, and the southern interior of British Columbia". The monograph is divided into four parts, the first of which deals with the history of the mining advance into the Inland Empire from 1855 to 1870. The economic and social aspects of the movement are covered in parts two and three, respectively; while part four is concerned with law and government. The monograph gives evidence of careful preparation; and it is well worth while not only as a study of the beginnings of mining in the region covered, but as a treatment of one phase of the settlement and early government of the great Northwest.

IOWANA

Charles Philip Hexom is the writer of a pamphlet of over seventy pages on the *Indian History of Winneshiek* which has been published by A. K. Bailey & Son of Decorah.

The *Autobiography of Elder Alma Booker* is begun in the April number of *Autumn Leaves* and continued in the May number.

Continuations of biographical and autobiographical material occupy the pages of the April number of the *Journal of History* published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Walter A. Jessup is the writer of an article on *School Administration and Secondary Schools*, which appears in the June number of *Midland Schools*.

A statement concerning the resignation of John G. Bowman as President of the State University of Iowa, and a biographical sketch of ex-President Josiah L. Pickard are to be found in the April number of *The Iowa Alumnus*.

In an article entitled *An Old Timer*, which appears in the May number of *The Iowa Engineer*, R. H. Porter gives a brief history and description of the oldest steam engine now in use in Iowa.

Two bulletins which have been published by the Extension Division of the State University of Iowa, under the editorship of O. E. Klingaman, are: *Street Lighting*, by A. H. Ford; and *Rate Making for Public Utilities*, by William G. Raymond.

A. F. Dawson discusses the question *Shall State Banks Enter the System?* in the May number of *The Northwestern Banker*. In the June number there is an article on *The Financial Growth of Clinton, Ia.*

Three articles which appear in the April number of *Iowa Factories* are: *Labor and Wages*, by Gerald Stanley Lee; *The New Road Law*, by T. H. MacDonald; and *Some Results of Agricultural Extension*, by K. G. Smith. In the May number J. Will Perry discusses *An Engineering Service Bureau*.

Brief biographical sketches of a number of Iowa men appear under the heading of *Stories of Agricultural Alumni* in the April number of *The Alumnus of Iowa State College* and under the heading of *Science Alumni in Many Fields* in the May number.

In the latter number John E. Brindley discusses *Applied Science and Social Service*; and Louis B. Schmidt writes on *Applied History*.

E. C. Hurd is the writer of a paper entitled *Vitalizing Municipal Economics* which appears in the May number of *American Municipalities*. Another article worthy of special attention is one on the *City Manager Plan for Iowa*, by Charles P. Chase. In the June number there are, among other things, notes on *Municipalities and the Iowa Compensation Act*, and *State Commissions and Municipal Ownership*; and a discussion of *Seattle's New Charter*, by H. A. Brauer.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Adams, Ephraim Douglass,

New Light on the Civil War (Dial, April 1, 1914).

Aurner, Clarence R.,

History of Township Government in Iowa. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1914.

Bailey, Edwin C.,

Winneskie County, Iowa, Past and Present. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co. 1914.

Botsford, George Willis,

A History of the Ancient World. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1914.

Carver, Thomas Nixon,

Plague of Sociological Gossip (Nation, March 26, 1914).

Catt, Carrie Chapman,

Survival of Matriarchy (Harpers, April, 1914).

Cooley, Roger William,

Handbook of the Law of Municipal Corporations. St. Paul: West Publishing Co. 1914.

Devine, Edward Thomas,

Widows' Needs (Survey, April 4, 1914).

Fletcher, Robert Huntington,

Principles of Composition and Literature. New York: The A. S. Barnes Co. 1914.

- Hancock, Ellery M.,
Allamakee County, Iowa, Past and Present. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co. 1914.
- Hexom, Charles Philip,
Indian History of Winneshiek. Decorah, Iowa: A. K. Bailey & Son. 1914.
- Hillis, Newell Dwight,
Noble Thoughts. New York: Barse & Hopkins. 1914.
The Story of Phaedrus: How We Got the Greatest Book in the World. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1914.
- Hughes, Rupert,
What Will People Say? New York: Harper & Bros. 1914.
- Hume, Thomas Milton,
Hume Produce Code, 1914. Burlington, Iowa: Published by the author. 1914.
- Hutchinson, Woods,
Nature's Mothers' Pensions (Good Housekeeping, April, 1914);
Simple Surgery (Good Housekeeping, May, 1914).
- James, James Alton,
Readings in American History. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1914.
- McCulla, Thomas,
History of Cherokee County, Iowa. Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co. 1914.
- Richardson, Anna Steese,
Better Babies and Their Care. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1914.
- Roberts, George Evan,
Distribution of Surplus Incomes (Review of Reviews, April, 1914).
- Ross, Edward Alsworth,
Celtic Tide (Century, April, 1914); *Germans in America* (Century, May, 1914).
- Tilton, John Littlefield,
Outline for the Study of Meteorology. Indianola: Record Printing House. 1914.

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Quick, J. Herbert,

Good Old Rebel (Collier's, April 4, 1914).

Russell, Charles Edward,

These Shifting Scenes. New York: George H. Doran Co. 1914.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Register and Leader

Sketch of the life of Josiah L. Pickard, March 31, 1914.

Sketch of the life of John Koenigsberger, April 5, 1914.

Billy Sunday's High School Class at Nevada, Iowa, Thirty Years Ago, April 5, 1914.

Indian Burial Customs, April 11, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Samuel B. Tuttle, April 14, 1914.

Sketch of the life of John F. Dillon, May 6 and 10, 1914.

Judge Weaver at Home, May 14, 1914.

Diamond Jubilee of Congregationalists at Dubuque, May 17, 1914.

Fiftieth Anniversary of "Little Brown Church", May 24, 1914.

John Langstaff, Veteran of Mexican War, May 24, 1914.

Birthdays of Famous Iowans (brief biographical sketches appearing from day to day).

Paper Printed by Iowa Soldiers During Civil War, May 31, 1914.

Some of the Historical Spots Surrounding the Capitol, June 7, 1914.

Recollections of Franc B. Wilkie Among Iowa Veterans of War, June 21, 1914.

Mount Pleasant, the Mother of Clubs, June 21, 1914.

Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Little Brown Church, by Nelle E. Gardner, June 21, 1914.

The Burlington Hawk-Eye

In Old Burlington. (In each Sunday issue.)

An Army Execution During the Civil War, by Robert J. Burdette, April 26, 1914.

Race of the Robert E. Lee and the Natchez in 1870, May 17, 1914.

Reminiscences of Early Days, by W. P. Elliott, May 24, 1914.

G. A. R. Week in Burlington, June 14, 1914.

Miscellaneous

- Douglas Township, Madison County, the Land of Poetry, by W. H. Lewis, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, April 1, 1914.
- Old Marion County, running in the *Knoxville Express*, April-June, 1914.
- Des Moines is Growing Rapidly — Old Landmarks, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, April 2, 1914.
- The Story of Quaker Divide, running in the *Redfield Review*, April-June, 1914.
- Mr. and Mrs. John M. Wright of Keota — Log Cabin their First Iowa Home, in the *Muscatine Journal*, April 4, 1914.
- Diary of the Civil War, running in the Sunday issues of the *Cedar Rapids Republican*.
- Historic Spots of Interest in Davenport, in the *Davenport Democrat*, April 5, 1914.
- The Spirit Lake Massacre, by Abbie Gardner Sharp, running in the *The Spirit Lake Herald*, April-June, 1914.
- Reminiscences of the Early Days in Liberty Township, by S. L. Thompson, running in the *Mount Ayr Record-News*, April-June, 1914.
- Sketch of the life of John Wallace Clatterbuck, in the *Council Bluffs Nonpareil*, April 8, 1914.
- Hotel Clerk Tells of Pioneer Days, in the *Sioux City Tribune*, April 9, 1914.
- The Memoirs of Mary E. Fobes, running in the *Dows Advocate*, April-June, 1914.
- John Brown's Last Letter is Found in Iowa, in the *Cedar Rapids Leader*, April 10, 1914.
- Remains of Early Indians, in the *Keokuk Constitution-Democrat*, April 10, 1914.
- Abner Peeler, Webster County Inventor, in the *Fort Dodge Messenger*, April 11, 1914.
- Adventures of a Pioneer Trapper in Northwestern Iowa, in the *Sioux City Journal*, April 12, 1914.
- Johnson Brigham Recalls Night of Abraham Lincoln's Murder, in the *Des Moines Capital*, April 14, 1914.

Sketches of the lives of Alonzo Abernethy and W. H. Fleming, in the *Iowa City Republican*, April 15, 1914.

Early Times at Keokuk, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, April 12, 1914.

Events in the Early Life of the Pioneer, by C. D. Childs, in the *Manson Journal*, April 15, 1914.

Pioneer Waterloo Woman Tells of Hardships Endured in the Fifties, in the *Waterloo Courier*, April 16, 1914.

Oakland in the Pioneer Days, in the *Oakland Acorn*, April 16, 1914.

Page of Hancock County History, in the *Britt News*, April 16, 1914.

First Pullman in this Section, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, April 16, 1914.

Sketch of the life of O. H. Mead, Early Stage Driver, in the *Waverly Democrat*, April 16, 1914.

Sketch of the lives of Judge and Mrs. Henry C. Caldwell, in the *Keosauqua Republican*, April 23, 1914.

Reminiscences of Some Early Settlers, in the *Glenwood Opinion*, April 23, 1914.

H. E. Carpenter, Pioneer Station Agent, in the *Nevada Journal*, April 24, 1914.

Early Indian Raids in Northwestern Iowa, in the *Le Mars Sentinel*, April 24, 1914.

Admiral Frank F. Fletcher, an Oskaloosa Boy, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, April 25, 1914.

Copy of First Newspaper Printed in Keokuk, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, April 26, 1914.

Iowa and Dubuque in the Mexican War of 1846, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, April 26, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Archibald Harvey, in the *Washington Democrat*, April 29, 1914.

Early Days of Rockwell City and Vicinity, by C. D. Childs, in the *Jefferson Bee*, April 29, 1914.

Seventy Years in Iowa County, in the *Williamsburg Journal*, April 30, 1914.

Locating the County Seat of Boone County, in the *Boone Democrat*, April 30, 1914.

Incidents of Early Times, in the *Anamosa Eureka*, May 14, 1914.

- Pioneer Experiences of Frank McMillin in Wapello County, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, April 30, 1914.
- Tax Receipt of the Year 1845, in the *Columbus Junction Safeguard*, April 30, 1914.
- Judge Henry Clay Caldwell Recalls Early Days at Ottumwa, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, April 30, 1914.
- Four Lineville Men Killed by Indians While Crossing the Plains in 1865, in the *Leon Journal*, April 30, 1914.
- Iowa Counties Were Named for Illustrious Men, in the *Des Moines Capital*, April 30, 1914.
- Reminiscences of Pioneer Days, by Mrs. D. D. Paine, in the *Eagle Grove Gazette*, May 6, 1914.
- Some Early History of Boone County, in the *Madrid News*, May 7, 1914.
- John Shuey, a Knoxville Hero, in the *Knoxville Journal*, May 7, 1914.
- Brother of Admiral Fletcher was Early Wall Lake Settler, in the *Wall Lake Blade*, May 7, 1914.
- Diamond Jubilee of Congregational Church of Dubuque, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, May 10, 1914.
- Land Grant Paper of Year 1818, in the *Corning Union-Republican*, May 13, 1914.
- Sketch of a True Pioneer — Jeremiah Roser, in the *Lansing Mirror*, May 15, 1914.
- Stories of a Pioneer Trapper, in the *Sioux City Journal*, May 17, 1914.
- Dr. J. Wooden, Veteran of the Mexican War, in the *Centerville Iowegian*, May 19, 1914.
- Incident in Life of the late John F. Dillon, in the *Des Moines Capital*, May 19, 1914.
- Buffalo in Iowa, in the *Fairfield Ledger*, May 20, 1914.
- A Des Moines Centennial in 1876, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, May 21, 1914.
- A Tribute to Abbie Mitchell, in the *Mitchellville Index*, May 21, 1914.
- Memories of Pella, in the *Pella Chronicle*, June 4, 1914.

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Fred Hacker, Mexican War Veteran, in the *Waterloo Courier*, May 29, 1914.

Some Old Landmarks in Nashua, in the *Nashua Reporter*, June 4, 1914.

Sketch of the life of John Nollen, Pioneer of Pella, in the *Pella Chronicle*, June 4, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Jedediah Lake, in the *Mason City Times*, June 9, 1914.

Mill History of Hamilton County, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, June 9, 1914.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

Bulletin No. 3 issued by the Michigan Historical Commission contains *A Sketch of Historical Societies in Michigan*, prepared by George Newman Fuller.

An index to the collection called the *Kie Oldham Papers* has been issued by the Arkansas History Commission as *Bulletin of Information, No. 5*.

The most recent number in the series of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, reproduced under the auspices of the American Historical Association and published by Charles Scribner's Sons, contains *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648-1706*, edited by George Lincoln Burr.

Moses W. Mann writes on *Medford Artillery*, and there is a brief sketch of the *Medford Branch Railroad* in the April number of *The Medford Historical Register*.

The first fifty pages in the April number of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* are occupied with the *Journal Kept in Quebec in 1775* by James Jeffry, annotated by William Smith. Sidney Perley is the writer of an article on *The West Field, Salem, in 1700*.

The *First Annual Report* of the Michigan Historical Commission contains an account of the work of the Commission for the period from May 28, 1913, to December 31, 1913.

Among the contents of *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for April, in addition to continuations, may be mentioned a *Letter from John Rolfe to Sir Thos. Dale* and a biographical sketch of *Captain John Harris of the Virginia Navy*, by Walter Drew McCaw.

Dunbar Rowland is the editor of *The Official and Statistical Register of the State of Mississippi* for the year 1912, which has been issued by the Department of Archives and History of Mississippi.

The eleventh in the series of articles on *The Baronies of South Carolina*, by Henry A. M. Smith, dealing with the Raphoe Barony, appears in the January number of *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. Here may also be found a paper on *Wilton's Statue of Pitt*, by D. E. Huger Smith; and a continuation of the *Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimké*.

An illustrated account of a *Prehistoric Shell Necklace from Nebraska*, written by Robert F. Gilder, opens the March-April number of the *Records of the Past*. Louise Phelps Kellogg contributes a brief appreciation of the late *Reuben Gold Thwaites*. Other articles are: *Cayuga Indemnity*, by Grace Ellis Taft; *An Onondaga Festival*, by the same writer; and *Man and the Mammoth in America*, by George Frederick Wright.

A Grave in the Wilderness, by Byron R. Long; *The Birthplace of Little Turtle*, by Calvin Young; *Robert Yost His Book*, consisting of a diary of the War of 1812; and *Rev. Paul Henkel's Journal: His Missionary Journey to the State of Ohio in 1806*, edited by Clement L. Martzloff, are contributions in the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*.

Besides the usual proceedings of meetings and lists of officers and members, the *Year Book of the Holland Society of New York* for 1914 contains an account of *The Founding of Jersey City to and Including the Incorporation of the Village of Bergen*, by Dingman Versteeg; a brief description of *The Peter Stuyvesant Statue at Bergen*; and a list of *Marriages in the Village of Bergen in New Jersey Beginning 1665*.

Herbert E. Bolton is the writer of a carefully prepared monograph on *The Founding of the Missions on the San Gabriel River, 1745-1749*, which is published in the April number of *The South-western Historical Quarterly*. William Edward Dunn presents a

scholarly study of *The Apache Mission on the San Saba River; its Founding and Failure*; and there is a tenth installment of *Correspondence from the British Archives Concerning Texas, 1837-1846*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams.

An interesting and valuable article on *Fort Orleans, the First French Post on the Missouri*, by M. F. Stipes, opens the *Missouri Historical Review* for April. L. T. Collier relates a few *Recollections of Thomas H. Benton*. There is a second paper by David W. Eaton under the heading *Echoes of Indian Emigration*; and W. O. L. Jewett is the writer of an *Historical Sketch of Shelby County, Missouri*.

The Journal of John Work, June-October, 1825, edited with introduction and notes by T. C. Elliott, occupies the leading position in *The Washington Historical Quarterly* for April. Anna Sloan Walker presents, in brief outline form, the *History of the Liquor Laws of the State of Washington*; while Ralph R. Knapp treats in a similar manner of *Divorce in Washington*. Under the heading of documents there is printed *A New Vancouver Journal*, with introduction and notes by Edmond S. Meany.

Rear Admiral James E. Jouett, a Distinguished Kentuckian and a Heroic Naval Officer, by George Baber; an account of the *Unveiling of a Monument* to commemorate the founding of the city of Louisville, Kentucky, by Ella Hutchinson Ellwanger; and *Coal Mining and its Bearing on Local History*, by Otto A. Rothert, are among the contents of the May number of *The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*.

Among the contents of *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* for April are: a biographical sketch of *William Theophilus Rogers Marvin*, by Mrs. Elizabeth E. M. Wood; and some *Records of the Society of Friends at Vassalborough, Me.*, communicated by Henry Sewall Webster. A supplement contains the *Proceedings of the New England Historic Genealogical Society* at the annual meeting on February 4, 1914, together with the exercises at the dedication of the new building of the Society on March 18, 1913.

The Explanatory Element in the Folk-Tales of the North American Indians, by T. T. Waterman, is the subject of a paper which opens the January-March number of *The Journal of American Folk-Lore*. Reed Smith writes on *The Traditional Ballad in the South*. Two other contributions are: *The Crow Sun Dance*, by Robert H. Lowie; and *Some Aspects of the Folk-Lore of the Central Algonkin*, by Alanson Skinner.

An interesting paper on *Andrew Craigie and the Scioto Associates*, by Archer B. Hulbert; an account and list of *The Papers of the Johnson Family of Connecticut*, by Max Farrand; and an extensive and valuable *Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820*, compiled by Clarence S. Brigham, are contributions in volume twenty-three, part two of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*.

An extended account of *The Meeting of the American Historical Association at Charleston and Columbia* occupies the opening pages in the April number of *The American Historical Review*. Then follows an article on *The Stages in the Social History of Capitalism*, by Henri Pirenne. *The Children's Crusade* is discussed by Dana C. Munro. Inna Lubimenko describes *The Correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian Czars*; and Ulrich B. Phillips presents a paper on *A Jamaica Slave Plantation*. Under the head of *Documents* may be found *A New Plan to Govern Virginia, 1623*, contributed by Arthur Percival Newton.

The greater part of volume fourteen of the *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, edited by Franklin L. Riley, is taken up with an extensive monograph on *Mississippi and the Compromise of 1850*, by Cleo Hearon. Two shorter papers are: *Barksdale's Mississippi Brigade at Gettysburg*, by J. S. McNeily; and *County Seats and Early Railroads of Washington County*, by Henry T. Ireys.

Much valuable material is to be found in volume eight of the *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*. Among the papers are: *Connecticut in Pennsylvania*, by Simeon E. Baldwin; *Eli Whitney Blake, Scientist and Inventor*, by Henry T. Blake;

The Battle of Lake George (Sept. 8, 1755) and the Man Who Won It, by Henry T. Blake; *Robert Treat: Founder, Farmer, Soldier, Statesman, Governor*, by George Hare Ford; *The Fundamental Orders and the Charter*, by Samuel Hart; *British Prisoners of War in Hartford During the Revolution*, by Herbert H. White; *The Fenians of the Long-Ago Sixties*, by Lawrence O'Brien; and *The New Haven of Two Hundred Years Ago*, by Franklin B. Dexter.

An account which could be practically duplicated in most of the western States is furnished by Ernest V. Shockley in an article on *County Seats and County Seat Wars in Indiana*, which appears in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History*. Alma Winston Wilson presents a biographical sketch of *An Early Indiana Surveyor—Lazarus B. Wilson*. Under the heading of *Autobiography of a Noted Pioneer* there are related some experiences of E. W. H. Ellis. Mrs. Elinor H. Campbell is the writer of a short article on *The Town of Bethlehem, Clark County, Indiana*.

Among the contents of the July, 1913, number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, may be noted a brief paper on *The Election of Congressmen from New Jersey*, by William Nelson; and a list of *New Jersey Soldiers in the Revolutionary War who later settled in Clermont County, Ohio*, prepared by A. S. Abbott. The October number, which comes out in somewhat more attractive dress, contains among other contributions an account of *Shane's Castle*, by John Clement; and *The School Census for 1832 and 1834 for Egg Harbour Township*, by Emma G. Steelman.

Carlos E. Godfrey tells of the *Organization of the Provisional Army of the United States in the Anticipated War with France, 1798-1800*, in the opening pages of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April. Some *Letters of General John Armstrong to Thomas Wharton, President of Pennsylvania, 1777*; a number of *Excerpts from the Master's Log of His Majesty's Ship "Eagle", Lord Howe's Flagship, 1776-1777*, edited by William M. Mervine; and a letter relating *Some Incidents of the Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793*, contributed by Miss Etta M. Knight, are among the documentary contributions.

Volume one of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1911* contains the following papers, among others: *American-Japanese Intercourse Prior to the Advent of Perry*, by Inazo Nitobé; *Colonial Society in America*, by Bernard Moses; *French Diplomacy and American Politics, 1794-1795*, by James Alton James; *The Tariff and the Public Lands from 1828 to 1833*, by Raynor G. Wellington; *The "Bargain of 1844" as the Origin of the Wilmot Proviso*, by Clark E. Persinger; *Monroe and the Early Mexican Revolutionary Agents*, by Isaac Joslin Cox; *Public Opinion in Texas Preceding the Revolution*, by Eugene C. Barker; and *The Genesis of the Confederation of Canada*, by Cephas D. Allin. This volume also contains the bibliography of *Writings on American History, 1911*, prepared by Grace Gardner Griffin. Volume two is devoted to *The Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, and Howell Cobb*, edited by Ulrich B. Phillips.

Volume thirteen of the *Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society*, published at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, contains some excellent papers and monographs. *Some Features of the Quaternary Deposits in the Wyoming Valley Region* are presented at considerable length by Nelson Horatio Darton. William Griffith furnishes *The Proof That Pennsylvania Anthracite Coal was First Shipped from Wyoming Valley*. John L. Stewart sets forth *Some Modern Views of the Federal Constitution*; Oscar Jewell Harvey describes *The Beginnings of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania*; and a brief paper entitled *Echoes of the Massacre of Wyoming* is written by Horace Edwin Hayden. The remaining contribution, ninety pages in length, is *A Study of North Appalachian Indian Pottery*, by Christopher Wren.

Volume ten, parts one and two of the *Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* has recently appeared. The volume opens with a brief sketch of the history and activities of the Society, by S. H. Hall. The Society has been in existence more than thirty years. Among the many interesting contributions in the volume are: *Juan Flaco's Ride: An Incident in the Conquest of California*, by J. M. Guinn; *The Events Leading to the Chinese*

Exclusion Acts, by Mildred Wellborn; *Some Recent Observations in Mexico*, by Leslie F. Gay, Jr.; *A California Calendar of Pioneer Princes*, by Rockwell D. Hunt; *Drake on the Pacific Coast*, by James Main Dixon; *Anti-Japanese Legislation in California, and the Naturalization of the Japanese*, by Ray Malcolm; *The Attitude of California to the Civil War*, by Imogene Spaulding; and *Arizona's Admission to Statehood*, by Archa Malcom Farlow.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume one, number one of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* appeared in June. The new quarterly is of the size usually followed in publications of this character, contains one hundred and sixty-four pages in addition to a few pages of advertising, and is printed in good clear type on a medium quality of book paper. The board of editors of the *Review* consists of the following persons: Benjamin F. Shambaugh, Frederick L. Paxson, Archer B. Hurlbert, Walter L. Fleming, James A. James, Orin G. Libby, Eugene C. Barker, and Claude H. Van Tyne; while the Managing Editor is Clarence W. Alvord. The subscription price of the *Review* will be two dollars to members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, of which the periodical is an organ, and three dollars to non-members. The printing is done by The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and the magazine will be mailed out from that place.

The opening contribution in the June number is an article on *The United States and Mexico, 1835-1837*, by Eugene C. Barker. An extended *Review of McMaster's History of the People of the United States* is written by Carl Russell Fish. *Louisiana as a Factor in American Diplomacy* is the subject of a paper by James Alton James. *Historical Activities in the Old Northwest and Eastern Canada, 1913-1914*, are discussed by Solon J. Buck. In the succeeding numbers of the *Review* historical activities in other sections of the Mississippi Valley will be similarly treated by different writers. Under the head of *Notes and Documents* will be found notes on the lost Burr papers and the newly discovered George Rogers Clark material, a letter from George Washington to his

brother Charles, and some letters from the correspondence of Lyman Trumbull. Then follow book reviews which occupy nearly fifty pages, and finally there is a section devoted to *News and Comments*.

ACTIVITIES

Under the auspices of the Jefferson County Historical Society a patriotic entertainment was given at Fairfield on May 8th to secure funds for the improvement of the Old Settlers' Park.

The recently organized Scott County Archaeological Society plans to explore and excavate the mounds of southeastern Iowa.

At the annual business meeting of the Texas State Historical Association on March 2, 1914, Z. T. Fulmore was elected president; Charles W. Ramsdell, corresponding secretary and treasurer; and Eugene C. Barker, recording secretary and librarian.

At a meeting of the Missouri Historical Society (St. Louis), on April 23, 1914, Hon. Frederick W. Lehmann delivered an address on *The Missouri Compromise: A Line in American History*.

The Oklahoma Historical Society has secured the records of the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation in 1901. These records will be of great value to future writers of Oklahoma history.

A portrait of Martin Luther, presented by the Lutherans of Iowa, has been installed in the portrait gallery of the Historical Department of Iowa at Des Moines.

A collection of letters and papers of Sidney Breese, United States Senator from Illinois from 1843 to 1849 and later Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the State, is among the recent accessions of the Illinois State Historical Library.

At the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society held in New York City on December 31, 1913, Pliny Earle Goddard was elected president; G. L. Kittredge, first vice president; J. Walter Fewkes, second vice president; and Franz Boas, editor of the *Journal* of the Society.

The New England Historic Genealogical Society is now located in its magnificent new building at No. 9 Ashburton Place, Boston. At the seventieth annual meeting of the Society on February 4, 1914, Mr. James Phinney Baxter was reëlected president.

Rear-Admiral Alfred T. Mahan will serve for several months as a Research Associate of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. A guide to the materials for American history to be found in the archives at St. Petersburg and Moscow is being prepared by Professor Frank A. Golder of Washington State College.

The *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for the year 1912, which has not yet appeared, will contain, among other things, reports on the archives of Louisiana and Montana. A branch of the Association has been established in London and plans are on foot for the establishment of another in Paris for the purpose of aiding American historical workers in those cities.

The Minnesota Historical Society is making plans for a fine new building, which will house not only the collections of the Society, but the Supreme Court of the State and the State law library. As soon as a site for the building is definitely determined on it is expected that work will begin and it is hoped that the building will be completed in 1916.

The Wisconsin Historical Society has recently acquired thirty-six volumes of the *London Gazette* which make its file of this paper practically complete from 1768 to 1840. Among the manuscript accessions is a collection which is of especial interest to Iowans, namely, the correspondence of the late Luman H. Weller of Nashua, Iowa, who was known several years ago as "Calamity Weller". His correspondence and papers are valuable for any study of political history. The Society has just occupied a new wing of its magnificent building.

At the semi-annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society on April 8, 1914, the following were among the papers read: *Early Indian Migrations in New England*, by Roland Burrage Dixon; and

Poinsett's Career in Mexico, by Justin Harvey Smith. The Society has recently acquired a large collection of tradesmen's currency of the Civil War period.

The American Anthropological Association and the American Folk-Lore Society held a joint annual meeting in New York City, December 29-31, 1913. Among the papers and addresses presented at this time were: *The Horse and the Plains Culture*, by Clark Wissler; *The Cultural Position of the Plains Ojibway*, by Alanson Skinner; *Notes on the Social Organization of the Fox Indians*, by Truman Michelson; *The Relation of Winnebago to Plains Culture*, by Paul Radin; *The Crow Sun Dance*, by Robert H. Lowie; and *Notes on the Folk-Lore and Mythology of the Fox Indians*, by Truman Michelson.

THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The seventh annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Association was held at Grand Forks, North Dakota, on May 26, 27, and 28, 1914; and there were joint sessions with the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Among the papers read at the general sessions were *Explorations and Surveys of the Minnesota and Red Rivers*, by Warren Upham; *The Soldier, the Advance Guard of Civilization*, by Henry Hale; *Montana as a Field for Historical Research*, by F. H. Garver; *Stephen A. Douglas, and the Split in the Democratic Party*, by Oliver M. Dickerson; *The Westward Movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley During the Fifties*, by Dan E. Clark; *The Hudson's Bay Company Fur Trade Monopoly in the Red River Settlement, 1821-1850*, by Chester V. Martin; *Contemporary Opinions Regarding the Mississippi Valley During the American Revolution*, by Paul C. Phillips; and *German Migration to the Mississippi and Missouri*, by Marion D. Learned.

Two sessions of the teachers' section were held, the principal topics of discussion being the use of supplementary reading in the teaching of history, and the training of teachers. On Tuesday afternoon there was a session at which papers on sociological subjects were read, among the most interesting being the one by R. W. Craig of Winnipeg on *Some Legal Aspects of Correctional Work*.

On account of illness the president of the Association, Professor James Alton James of Northwestern University, was unable to attend the meeting, and so Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh was chosen to preside at the meetings. And in place of the presidential address on Tuesday evening Professor Marion D. Learned of the University of Pennsylvania delivered an address on the subject of *European Immigration to the United States*.

The election of officers resulted in the choice of Professor Isaac J. Cox as president; Professors Guy S. Ford and Frederic L. Paxson as first and second vice presidents, respectively; Mr. Clarence S. Paine as secretary-treasurer; and Dr. Milo M. Quaife and Mr. William E. Connelley as members of the executive committee.

Three very pleasant social occasions were provided for the entertainment of the visitors. On Tuesday evening a reception was tendered by President and Mrs. McVey of the State University. A banquet was given on the following evening by the Commercial Club at the University Commons, at which place the guests were also entertained at supper on Thursday evening. But perhaps the most interesting feature of the entire meeting was the historical pageant of the Northwest presented in the open air on Thursday evening by the University Sock and Buskin Society. Events in the careers of Radisson, La Salle, the Vérendryes, and in the Lewis and Clark Expedition (the principal figure in the latter being Sacajawea, the Bird Woman) were depicted in an admirable manner.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

At the annual meeting of the Society on June 22, 1914, the nine resident Curators who have served during the past year were re-elected.

A history of Shelby County, Iowa, is being prepared by Mr. E. S. White of Harlan, a member of the Society. Mr. White spent several days at Iowa City in June gathering data in the library of the Society.

The first volume of a comprehensive *History of Education in Iowa*, written by Dr. Clarence R. Aurner, is now in press. It is ex-

pected that three volumes of this work will be published during the coming year.

Dr. John C. Parish of Denver, Colorado, formerly Assistant Editor in the Society, has been appointed professor and head of the department of history in Colorado College.

Mr. John Wilson Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky, a member of the Society, is the author of a volume on *Kentucky in American Letters, 1784-1912*, printed by The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. There is an introduction by the novelist, James Lane Allen.

Dr. Henry Albert, a Curator of the Society, is joint author with Dr. Mildred E. Scheetz of a description of a *Model Laboratory for the General Practitioner* which has been reprinted from the May number of the *Journal of the Iowa State Medical Society*.

The Society is indebted to the Rev. James L. Hill of Salem, Massachusetts, for a number of booklets and articles dealing with the history of the Congregational Church in Iowa, including especially the Iowa Band and Grinnell College. Mr. Hill was born at Garnaville, Iowa, and his father gave the first dollar to found Grinnell College.

Mrs. Bernhardine Wachsmuth of Burlington, a member of the Society, died on January 19, 1914. She was the widow of the late Charles Wachsmuth, a distinguished geologist and an authority on the subject of fossils.

Mr. T. J. Fitzpatrick of Bethany, Nebraska, a member of the Society and who formerly occupied the position of Collector, has recently acquired an excellent copy of Albert Miller Lea's rare little volume entitled *Notes on Wisconsin Territory*, in which there is the inscription: "Hon. Geo. W. Jones, Sinsinawa Mound from the author".

At the regular June meeting of the Board of Curators provision for research work during the summer months was made by the appointment of the following persons as Research Associates: Dr. F. E. Haynes of Morningside College; Dr. F. H. Garver of the

Montana State Normal at Dillon, Montana; Dr. Henry J. Peterson of the Iowa State Teachers' College; and Mr. O. K. Patton of the State University of Iowa. Furthermore, Mr. John E. Briggs was appointed Research Assistant, and Miss Ruth Gallaher as Library Research Assistant for the coming year.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mrs. F. M. Bagley, Anamosa, Iowa; Dr. W. L. Bywater, Iowa City, Iowa; Mr. John A. Cavanagh, Des Moines, Iowa; Mr. J. Robert Cornell, Winterset, Iowa; Mr. Charles D. Huston, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. O. D. Peterson, Stratford, Iowa; Hon. George E. Roberts, Washington, D. C.; Mr. John Boeynik, Sioux Center, Iowa; Mr. Royal H. Holbrook, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. Lee Shillinglaw, Cedar Falls, Iowa.

The State Historical Society of Iowa was represented at the annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Grand Forks, North Dakota, during the last week in May by the Superintendent, Benj. F. Shambaugh, and the Assistant Editor, Dan E. Clark. In the absence of the president of the Association the former was chosen to preside at the meetings as president *pro tempore*; while the latter read a paper on *The Westward Movement in the Upper Mississippi Valley During the Fifties*. Dr. F. H. Garver, Research Associate in the Society during the present summer, also appeared on the program with a paper on *Montana as a Field for Historical Research*.

NOTES AND COMMENT

John Nollen, one of the pioneer Hollanders of Pella, Iowa, and a man who has exerted a strong influence in the community, died on May 31, 1914.

Jedediah Lake of Independence, a member of the Ninth General Assembly of Iowa, and Lieutenant Colonel and later Colonel of the Twenty-seventh Iowa Infantry during the Civil War, died on June 7, 1914.

Histories of the following Iowa counties are reported as in process of preparation: Audubon, Buchanan, Des Moines, Harrison, and Shelby.

Sitting-Bull-Custer, an out-door Indian drama, written by Aaron McGaffey Beede, was presented on June 1st, on the campus of the North Dakota Agricultural College at Fargo.

The War Eagle Memorial Association of Sioux City has located the site of the grave of the chieftain, War Eagle, and a tablet will be erected to mark the spot until sufficient funds can be secured for the erection of a monument.

The seniors of the East Des Moines High School on May 15th presented a pageant depicting the coming of the white man to Iowa and the building of Fort Des Moines.

The magnificent private library of Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, which has been used by many historians, has been donated to the Library Commission of that city.

Professor Frederic Austin Ogg has been appointed to an associate professorship in political science at the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. E. Dana Durand is in charge of the work of the Minnesota Efficiency and Economy Commission, which is preparing a plan for the reorganization of the State government.

A spot on the capitol grounds at Des Moines has been chosen by the Allison Monument Commission for the erection of the Allison memorial. It is expected that work on the memorial will proceed as rapidly as possible.

Mr. E. W. Tallmon and W. W. Gardiner of Davenport both have in their possession large collections of pictures of Mississippi and Ohio River steamboats, past and present. These collections will be of much value to anyone interested in the history of river transportation.

Among the cities of some size which have recently adopted the commission plan of government are San Antonio, Texas, and Saginaw and Marquette, Michigan. The plan has also virtually been accepted in Seattle, Washington. The city-manager plan is meeting with favor in various parts of the country, especially in the smaller places.

On May 2, 1914, occurred the death of Professor N. H. Winchell, whose work in the geology and early history of the Upper Mississippi Valley is well known. During the twenty-eight years from 1872 to 1900 he conducted the Minnesota Geological Survey. He founded the *American Geologist*, and was its principal editor from 1888 to 1905. From 1906 to the time of his death he had charge of the Department of Archaeology of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The forty-third annual reunion of the Old Settlers' Association of Cedar County was held at Tipton on June 10, 1914, this being the seventy-fourth anniversary of the first settlement of the county. Twenty-two persons who came to Cedar County before the close of the year 1850 were in attendance at the reunion.

The historic home of Josiah B. Grinnell at Grinnell, Iowa, has been purchased and torn down to give place to a more modern residence. The house was built during the fifties and had an interesting history. Many notable persons, including John Brown and Henry Ward Beecher, were visitors at the Grinnell home, which was one of the centers of anti-slavery sentiment in Iowa. Numerous fugitive slaves were hidden away in the house from

time to time while on their trip to Canada over the Underground Railway.

The Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists will be held in Washington, D. C., October 5-10, 1915. President Wilson will be the official patron; while Hon. John W. Foster is the president of the organization. An excursion in connection with the meeting will include a visit to the Davenport Academy of Sciences at Davenport, Iowa.

The death of W. S. Wilkinson, who came to Madison County, Iowa, in 1848, occurred on June 4, 1914. Mr. Wilkinson has been a frequent contributor to the knowledge of the history of that county, both through his own writings and through information willingly given to others.

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Territory of Montana and the twenty-fifth anniversary of the admission of the State into the Union. A number of celebrations are being planned at various points; while an unusually large amount of material in the way of reminiscences is appearing in the newspapers of the State.

An effort is being made in Marshall County to form an association composed of natives of the county who are over fifty years of age. About one hundred invitations to persons having these qualifications were issued for a picnic which was held on June 25th.

On June 16th occurred the death of John Harlan, an early settler of Van Buren County, Iowa. He was born in Indiana in 1821 of Quaker ancestry, and came to Iowa in 1875. He was the grandfather of Edgar R. Harlan, Curator of the Historical Department of Iowa, and a distant relative of James Harlan, former United States Senator from Iowa.

On May 12 and 13, 1914, there was held in New York City a National Conference on Universities and Public Service, the call for which was issued by Mayor John Purroy Mitchell. The conference was held under the auspices of the committee on practical training for public service of the American Political Science Association,

composed of the following members: Charles McCarthy, Albert Bushnell Hart, Benj. F. Shambaugh, William F. Willoughby, and Raymond G. Gettell, with Edward A. Fitzpatrick as executive secretary. The main topics of discussion were: the upbuilding of governmental administration, the greatest need of American democracy; public service as a career; the municipal university; public service activities of universities — a record is what is being done; the national university; and the question, should universities give credit for work in governmental bureaus and other agencies as outlined by the committee on practical training for public service.

The Harris Political Science Prizes, established by Mr. N. W. Harris of Chicago, were awarded to the following persons for the year 1913-1914: the first prize of \$250 to Willits Pollock of the University of Wisconsin for an essay on "Municipal Home Rule and the Wisconsin Commissions"; the second prize of \$150 to Ivan O. Hansen of the University of Minnesota for an essay on the "Relation of the State to the Municipality with Special Reference to Minnesota"; and the third prize of \$100 to Clark P. Carrier of Beloit College for an essay on "Judicial Review of Administrative Decisions". The prizes are offered again for the year 1914-1915 and the contest is open to undergraduates of all the colleges and universities in Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Iowa. The subjects for essays for the coming year are the reorganization of State government, the city manager plan of municipal government, the Monroe Doctrine, and the public regulation of wages. Dr. Benj. F. Shambaugh of Iowa City is the Iowa member of the committee on the Harris prizes and further information may be secured from him.

JOHN FORREST DILLON

In the death of Judge John F. Dillon in New York City on May 5, 1914, the State of Iowa lost one of its most famous sons. Although Judge Dillon was born in New York in 1831 he came to Davenport, Iowa, in 1838, the year in which the Territory of Iowa was estab-

lished; and thereafter he lived in Iowa continuously for more than forty years.

Judge Dillon was during his youth attracted to a career in the practice of medicine. With this end in view he entered the Davenport Medical College, from which institution he graduated in 1850; after which he practiced for a few months and was one of the founders of the Iowa State Medical Society. But soon he began the study of law and was admitted to the bar in 1852, soon afterward entering into partnership with John P. Cook of Davenport. As prosecuting attorney of Scott County from 1852 to 1858 he displayed such ability that in the latter year he was elected Judge of the Seventh Judicial District, a position which he held until 1863, when he was chosen as a justice of the Iowa Supreme Court. After one term of six years in this capacity he was appointed by President Grant as Judge of the United States Circuit Court for the Eighth District. Ten years he remained in this federal position and then resigned to accept a position in the law college of Columbia University.

Since 1882 Judge Dillon was engaged in legal practice in New York City, being counsel at various times for some of the largest corporations in the country and gaining an enviable reputation. Moreover, he is widely known for his many books and other writings on legal topics. Without doubt Judge Dillon's name will always be found among those of the greatest lawyers which the State of Iowa has produced.

GEORGE DOUGLAS PERKINS

George D. Perkins, the veteran editor of the *Sioux City Journal*, died on February 3, 1914. He was born at Holly, New York, on February 29, 1840, and during his boyhood his parents came west, finally locating at Baraboo, Wisconsin, where Mr. Perkins learned the printer's trade. In 1860, in partnership with his brother Henry, he established the *Cedar Falls Gazette*. He enlisted in 1863 in Company B., Thirty-first Iowa Infantry, but after a brief service in the field he was taken seriously ill and did not recover for many months. After acting as agent for the Northwestern

Press Association at Chicago for three years, in 1869 he established the *Sioux City Journal*, of which newspaper he remained the editor down to the time of his death.

Mr. Perkins took a prominent part in Iowa politics. He was a member of the State Senate in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth General Assemblies. From 1882 to 1885 he was United States Marshal for the Northern District of Iowa. Then in 1891 he was elected as Congressman from the Eleventh Congressional District of Iowa, an office to which he was twice reelected. In 1906 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the nomination for Governor; and many times he was a delegate from Iowa to the national conventions of the Republican party.

As an editor, as a public servant, and as a private citizen, Mr. Perkins always held the confidence and respect of the people of Iowa, and his name deserves a high place in the list of Iowa's greatest citizens.

JOSIAH L. PICKARD

Dr. Josiah L. Pickard, who was known and loved by many Iowa people, died at his home in Cupertino, California, on March 27, 1914, having just passed his ninetieth birthday. He was born on March 17, 1824, at Rowley, Massachusetts. In 1844 he was graduated from Bowdoin College, and two years later he removed first to Elizabeth, Illinois, and later in the same year to the Territory of Wisconsin, where he became the Principal of Platteville Academy. After remaining in that position for nearly fourteen years, he was State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Wisconsin from 1860 to 1864. In the latter year he accepted the position of Superintendent of Schools of the city of Chicago, where he remained until 1877.

It was in 1878 that Dr. Pickard began his long period of service to the people of Iowa as President of the State University. The nine years during which he held this position witnessed a steady growth in the size, strength, and prestige of the University. He resigned as President in 1887 but remained at the University for two years as a lecturer. For nineteen years, from 1881-1900, he

was President of The State Historical Society of Iowa. His declining years have been spent in California.

Dr. Pickard ranked high among the pioneer leaders in the movement for higher education in the West, and he was the writer of numerous valuable articles on educational topics. He also took a keen interest in local history, as is indicated by his long official connection with The State Historical Society. He made many contributions to the literature of Iowa history, including the best historical sketch of the State University of Iowa that has thus far been written, and some very interesting reminiscences entitled *A Retrospect of Sixty Years*. He was a man who will long be cherished in the memories of those who knew him.

CONTRIBUTORS

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FUR TRADE OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN IOWA COUNTRY FROM 1800 TO 1833

As early as the year 1777 Spanish officials of the country west of the Mississippi River uttered loud complaints against English traders who had found their way to the Iowa and the Sioux Indians by means of the Des Moines River from the south. Who these adventurers were has not been ascertained: they may have been employees of Canadian merchant traders, or men from Canada or the Atlantic seaboard colonies trading with the natives on their own account. Whoever they were, they came to be the special mark of Spanish vindictiveness. Indeed, the chief aim of the Spaniards who claimed jurisdiction over the Iowa country was the entire exclusion of England's colonial subjects from the region west of the Mississippi River.¹

The Hudson's Bay Company, chartered as early as 1670 by King Charles II of England, had come to monopolize the fur trade in Canada and, with all its ramifications, may possibly have sent a few employees also to the tribes south and west of the Great Lakes. But it remained for a rival company definitely to seize upon this region and glean from it the wealth of prairie, forest, and stream. About the year 1783 Montreal merchant capitalists formed two trading organizations,² the North West Company and the Michili-

¹ See the writer's article on *Fur Trade Operations in the Eastern Iowa Country during the Spanish Régime* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, p. 360.

² These two companies consisted of practically the same Montreal trading firms. Indeed, the operations of both were generally ascribed to the North West Company, and not until 1798 were there two well recognized independent branches. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 97; and *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 170. A complete history of the great fur

mackinac Company with western headquarters upon the island of St. Joseph's east of Mackinac: one to compete with the old corporation in Canada and the other to confine its operations chiefly to the Upper Mississippi Valley. Goods of English manufacture were imported to Montreal, shipped from there by water to St. Joseph's and Mackinac islands, and then distributed by means of boats and canoes to all the tribes that traders and boatmen could reach.

The easy waterway that led directly to the Iowa country was the old Fox-Wisconsin route to the Upper Mississippi: the Sac and Fox Indians were accessible in this way, and different bands of Sioux could be visited by following the course of the St. Peter's (Minnesota) and Blue Earth rivers. From there, by a portage, the boatmen could reach the upper Des Moines River and descend as far as they wished to Sioux, Sac and Fox, and Ioway hunting camps. It appears that the Mackinac Company's agents secured considerable trade from all these tribes, owing to the inability of the Spanish to make their power felt in this vast wilderness region. And not only did the Canadian company barter with tribes west of the Upper Mississippi but also in territory east of the river. Nor did the Treaty of Paris in 1783 between the United States and England cause the removal of British posts from the latter region when it became American soil.³ British traders continued to frequent the whole country after the close of the War of Independence, because the American government made no determined effort to enter its Northwest Territory.

Thomas Jefferson called attention to the situation in 1791. Jay's treaty with England in 1794 required the evacuation of British posts within two years, but thanks to its companies is yet to be written. At present even the main details seem to be in doubt.

³ See Professor Frederick J. Turner's article in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. IX, p. 586.

provisions, British fur traders were freely permitted to carry on commerce with Indians in the American Northwest.⁴ Accordingly Great Britain retained a decided control over the various tribes and the profits from furs and peltries flowed almost completely, as before, into the pockets of English capitalists who operated from St. Joseph's and Mackinac islands. Each spring Canadian merchants like Isaac Todd and Simon McTavish shipped British goods to Detroit and Mackinac for distribution to the clerks and traders who had wintered in the interior, returning to Montreal with valuable cargoes of skins and furs obtained from the Indians. Most of their posts were within American territory at this time, but not a few were situated on the Spanish side of the Mississippi.⁵

JEAN BAPTISTE FARIBAUT

Not only tribes in the Iowa country but Indians dwelling west of the Missouri, like the Otoes and the Pawnees, were sought out: in 1795 some English traders from the Des Moines crossed the country with a pack train of twelve horses.⁶ Unfortunately, not all records of such enterprises in quest of furs have been preserved, but we know of at least one trader who served his masters continuously for four years in the Iowa wilderness. Jean Baptiste Faribault had displayed so much business ability after one season's operations in northern Illinois that he was assigned by Mr. Gillespie of the North West Company to a more important post about two hundred miles above the mouth of the Des Moines River. To this post named "Red-

⁴ *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Vol. IX, pp. 587-589; and *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 33.

⁵ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXIV, p. 684. Goods of English manufacture shipped from London in the spring of the year were sent into the Indian country one year later and the returns, in the shape of furs and peltries, were received at Montreal the following year.

⁶ Houck's *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, Vol. II, p. 191.



MAP ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE REGION COVERED IN THE ARTICLE ON "FUR TRADE OPERATIONS IN THE EASTERN IOWA COUNTRY FROM 1800 TO 1833"

wood" he came in 1799. Assisted by an interpreter named Deban, Faribault carried on a profitable business, and in the spring of 1800, "according to instructions he had received, wended his way with the furs he had collected to the mouth of the Des Moines river, and delivered them to Mr. [Louis] Crawford, one of the accredited agents of the Company." For four years Faribault remained in charge of this lonely trading post in the Far West: he saw no white men but his own assistants, except on his annual tour to the mouth of the river. The region where he was stationed abounded with beaver, otter, deer, bear, and other wild animals, and was the favorite resort of the Sioux bands, of the Sacs and Foxes, the Ioways, and other tribes. Life in the Iowa solitude is described as follows:

The wages of a good clerk at that time was \$200 per annum; interpreter \$150, and common laborers or voyageurs \$100, and the rations allowed them were of the simplest description. But the abundance of game more than compensated for any deficiency in food. The articles used in the trade with the Indians were principally blankets, cloths, calicoes, tobacco and cheap jewelry, including wampum, which latter served in lieu of money, as a basis of exchange. During the winter the traders and their men ensconced themselves in their warm log cabins, but in the early spring it was required of them to visit the various Indian camps to secure the furs and peltries collected by the savages in their hunts. Goods were not then given on credit, but everything was paid for on delivery. While employed at the post on the Des Moines, Mr. Faribault narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of a half-breed, who was jealous of the intrusion of a white man into this favored land.⁷

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE FUR TRADE

François Marie Perrin du Lac,⁸ a French traveler in the Middle West during the years 1801-1803 when the Iowa

⁷ *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 170-172.

⁸ Du Lac traveled extensively in the Middle West, and wrote a little book of one hundred and six pages in the French language. He ascended the Missouri

country lay within the jurisdiction of Napoleon Bonaparte, afterwards wrote to convince Frenchmen of the immense profits which awaited those who would undertake to compete with English traders on the Upper Mississippi. He stoutly asserted that British subjects could have no claim to this trade because their Indian customers hunted game entirely on French soil and then repaired with furs and skins to their rendezvous at Prairie du Chien or the mouths of the rivers situated in the Province of Louisiana. Goods shipped by French merchants from New Orleans in flat-bottomed boats, he declared, could reach these places at an increase of cost of from ten to twelve percent, a slight expense due not only to the small number of employees needed for the work but also to through shipment without unloading.

English merchandise, on the other hand, conveyed from Montreal to Mackinac, increased in cost about twenty-five percent, and experienced a further advance of seven percent for transportation to Prairie du Chien. French traders, therefore, had an advantage over their rivals of twenty percent, besides requiring less than one-third as many employees as did the English to carry the same amount of goods to the same place. Furthermore, English boats were too small to carry heavy loads as compared with those of the French; and the distance from Montreal to Prairie du Chien required four months each way, while Frenchmen made the journey to the same place from New Orleans in one month.

Du Lac found the English engaged in commerce with the Sioux "who furnish them annually with two thousand five hundred bundles of skins, one fourth of which are of the first quality." The Sacs and Foxes also, and the "Oyoa" or Ioways upon the Iowa River bartered several hundreds

River and visited many tribes beyond the Iowa country, declaring that the commerce with tribes there amounted to 20,000 livres annually.

of packs of skins. Commerce with them was declared possible without danger to the traders.⁹

THOMAS G. ANDERSON

During the winter of 1801 and 1802 Thomas G. Anderson hired out to a Green Bay trader and took a cargo of goods fifty miles up the Des Moines River to a village of Ioways, "a vile set" of Indians who then hunted westward toward the Missouri. A French trader named Julien¹⁰ arrived at the same place for his share of the traffic. The competitors agreed they would stay at their shops to await the return of the Indian hunters with their furs rather than make an expensive river voyage to their hunting camps on the Missouri. Anderson whiled away the time until Christmas by hunting, making oars, paddles, and other whittlings. Then Julien and his interpreter quarreled, ending in the latter's going to Anderson with the story that Julien had sent goods up the Missouri two months before. What followed must be told in the irate Englishman's own words as illustrative of the tricks of the fur trade in the early days:

This was a thunder-clap to me. An immediate explanation from Mr. Julien was demanded. I was furious, and showered all the abuse I could muster on his cringing head. My mind as to what was best to do under the circumstances, was soon made up. I called my interpreter into council, and said, "Now, boy, you know how Mr. Julien has deceived me; are you willing and ready to carry a load on your back across to the house near the Missouri, which Mr. Julien has treacherously put there, with the intention of stealing all the credits I made to those Indians last Fall." All were willing. "Tit for tat" said I; "he wanted to *ruin* me, I will only *injure* him. Some of you ask his interpreter to go with us, and carry a load." He accepted the invitation. Then my party, including myself, became nine strong.

⁹ Du Lac's *Travels Through the Two Louisianas*, pp. 56, 57.

¹⁰ Not Julien Dubuque, as the late Dr. Draper and Rev. William Salter supposed. There are frequent references to a trader or traders by this name.—See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, p. 330; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. X, pp. 127, 128.

I left my own interpreter in charge of the Des Moines trading post, and started the next day with seven loaded men, taking provisions for one day only, depending on game for our supply. The little islands of wood, scattered over the boundless plains, were swarming with wild turkeys, so that we had plenty of poultry. At the end of six days we reached our destination safe and sound, taking Mr. Julien's two *engages* by surprise. My party soon fitted up a temporary shop. Not long after, the Indians came in, made a splendid season's trade, managed for the transportation of my packs of fur by leaving a man to help Mr. Julien's two *engages* down with their boat. Thus I completed my winter, and Mr. Julien found his trickery more costly than he anticipated.¹¹

LEWIS AND CLARK'S REPORT OF INDIAN TRIBES IN THE IOWA WILDERNESS

Just when English subjects first erected trading-posts upon the largest river of Iowa has not yet been ascertained. From the fact that they aroused Spanish antagonism as early as 1777 one may judge that they resorted regularly to the Iowa interior before the close of the eighteenth century in defiance of the claims of Spain. Any rights which France claimed to the trade were also trampled under foot. Indeed, so great was the zeal of English traders in the Upper Mississippi Valley as well as on the Missouri west of the Iowa country that it left a deep impression upon Thomas Jefferson's mind. Even before the United States government secured its title to this trans-Mississippi region by purchase from Napoleon, Jefferson had urged the sending of a military expedition up the Missouri to the western ocean in the interests of the fur trade. He suggested to Congress that such an adventure, if undertaken ostensibly for literary and scientific purposes, would arouse no jealous alarm in England: with cheaper means of water transportation, why should not American citizens drive English traders from the fur-bearing field?¹²

¹¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 151, 152.

¹² *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 684, 685.

As a result of this recommendation, therefore, early in May, 1804, the explorers Lewis and Clark set out on their famous journey to the unknown West, armed with the President's instructions "to enter into conference with the Indian nations on their route, with a view to the establishment of commerce with them."¹³ They collected a vast amount of information and compiled a long statistical table of the Indian inhabitants, including those who then occupied the Iowa wilderness.

The "Ayouwais", nicknamed "Ne Percé" by Canadian traders, were credited with one village of probably eight hundred souls with two hundred warriors, forty leagues up the river "Demoin, on the Southeast side." They maintained their principal trade with "Mr. Crawford, and other merchants from Michilimackinac", at their village and hunting camps. The amount of merchandise necessary for their annual consumption was estimated at \$3800, St. Louis prices, while they supplied in return \$6000 worth of "deer skins principally, and the skins of the black bear, beaver, otter, grey fox, racoon, muskrat, and mink." It was reported that if proper encouragement were given them they would furnish also "elk and deer's tallow, and bear's oil". They were at war with many nations but maintained friendly alliances with others. The Ioways claimed the country west of them to the Missouri, as did also their friends the Sacs and the Foxes. Lewis concluded his remarks by adding: "They are a turbulent savage race, frequently abuse their traders, and commit depredations on those ascending and descending the Missouri; their trade cannot be expected to increase much."

The "Saukees", called La Sauk, and the Foxes, nicknamed "La Renar" by the traders, occupied both banks of the Mississippi north of St. Louis, two thousand and twelve

¹³ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 705.

hundred strong, respectively, of whom one-fourth were warriors, trading with merchants from Mackinac and St. Louis. The former got merchandise to the value of \$4000 and furnished \$6000 worth of the same kinds of skins and peltries as the Ioways sold; while the Foxes supplied furs worth \$4000. Lewis suggested that a government trading-post at the mouth of the Kansas River would lure the Ioway trade southward, while another such post at Prairie du Chien would be mutually advantageous to the government and to the Sacs and the Foxes. These allies were then at war with certain Sioux bands to the north of them and other tribes west of the Missouri. Their principal hunting ground was along both sides of the Mississippi between the Wisconsin and the Illinois. While extremely friendly to the whites and the traders at this time, they were declared to be "the most implacable enemies to the Indian nations with whom they are at war; to them is justly attributable the almost entire destruction of the Missouries, the Illinois, Cahokias, Kaskaskias, and Peorias."

Besides the bands of Sioux who hunted in northern Iowa, in the northwestern Iowa country roamed some seven hundred wild Yankton Sioux from the Dakota region. They hunted along the Big Sioux and at the heads of the Floyd, Little Sioux, and Des Moines rivers, bartering with traders at their hunting camps, sometimes at the Ioway village, and also at Prairie du Chien. These savages were so much under the influence of English traders that they practically closed the Missouri to traders from St. Louis. Captain Lewis in his interesting report to the United States government declared:

They have heretofore, invariably arrested the progress of all those they have met with, and generally compelled them to trade at prices, nearly, which they themselves think proper to fix on their merchandise. They seldom commit any further acts of violence on the whites; they sometimes visit the river Demoin, where a partial trade

has been carried on with them for a few years past, by a Mr. Crawford.¹⁴

HARRISON'S TREATY WITH THE SACS AND FOXES IN 1804

Lewis and Clark had been absent but six months from the frontier town of St. Louis when an event of great importance in American Indian policy took place: in November, 1804, William Henry Harrison, Governor of Indiana Territory and of the recently purchased District of Louisiana and Superintendent of Indian Affairs, effected a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes whose seven tepee villages then overlooked the Mississippi in the Iowa-Illinois country. The allied tribes parted with their title to all lands east of the river but retained their hunting rights, in return for goods valued at \$2234.50 and an annuity worth \$1000 in the shape of goods or domestic animals, farm implements and other utensils, or useful artificers, as they might choose. Besides promising to prevent white persons from intruding upon their lands, the government agreed to establish a factory or trading-house to enable them to get goods "at a more reasonable rate than they have been accustomed to procure them" and thus put a stop to the abuses and impositions practiced upon them by private traders.

The treaty further provided that since the United States laws prohibited trade in the Sac and Fox country except under government license, the Indians should help enforce the laws by giving notice from time to time of all traders dealing with them. They promised also at all times to "allow the traders and other persons travelling through their country under the authority of the United States a free and safe passage for themselves and their property of every description", without toll or exaction of any kind. The Sacs and Foxes acquiesced in the government's pro-

¹⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 711, 712, 714. Lewis and Clark must have obtained their information about the natives of the Iowa country from the fur traders whom they met.

posal to build a fort at or near the mouth of the Wisconsin River or upon the right bank of the Mississippi in the Iowa country.¹⁵ Such in short were the terms of a document to which Harrison and five Sac and Fox chiefs subscribed their names.¹⁶ In sending the treaty to the Senate for ratification President Jefferson favored it as "the means of retaining exclusive commerce with the Indians west of the Mississippi River — a right indispensable to the policy of governing those Indians by commerce rather than by arms."

PIKE'S EXPEDITION IN 1805

Not many months after Captain Lewis reported his information about trade conditions in the Iowa wilderness, the commander of the western army at St. Louis dispatched Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike at the head of the first American exploring party to ascend the Mississippi to its sources. Pike set out in August, 1805, carrying instructions to select suitable sites for military establishments and a trading-post, and to obtain information about Dubuque's rich lead mines and the Indian trade in this region. Pike prepared a chart of the Mississippi and only one of its tributaries, the Des Moines, marking upon the latter two forts named Crawford, Fort St. Louis, and Fort Gelaspy. Without

¹⁵ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 74-76.

¹⁶ The years after 1804 were filled with bitter experiences for both parties to this pact. A strong faction of the Sacs and Foxes under the leadership of Black Hawk consistently repudiated the treaty. This is not strange when it is remembered that these Indians were always under the influence of the English traders whose business the United States government was bent upon driving from American soil. A recent historian does not mince words in writing about William Henry Harrison's "sharp bargain with a few drunken and irresponsible members of one band", but he shows no justification for declaring that "today no agent in the field would venture to submit such a document to his superior. The Christian doctrine of universal brotherhood was working its way into our civilization, and the doctrine of the bully and barbarian, that 'the most ultimately righteous of all wars is a war with savages,' was fast retreating into the jungles of the beast whence it came."—*Iowa Historical Record*, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

making a personal visit to these places Pike must have gained his information from traders whom he met on the voyage northward. His report, read in the light of the information furnished by Captain Lewis, would suggest that the four forts were trading-posts of the Mackinac Company named after the traders who managed them.¹⁷

Opposite a small Sac village of thirteen lodges, just north of Tesson's settlement on the site of Montrose, Iowa,¹⁸ Pike in a speech to the chief men made the announcement that with their consent a government trading establishment would be erected at that place, for the location was undoubtedly central and easily accessible to Sacs, Foxes, Ioways of the lower and Sioux of the upper Des Moines, and Winnebagoes of the Rock River in Illinois. The chiefs thanked the American officer for his present of tobacco, knives, and whisky but begged time to consult their nation relative to the proposed trading-post. Their answer at this time, therefore, indicated no enthusiastic reception of the government's plan to carry out the terms of the treaty made the year before.¹⁹

¹⁷ Gillespie and Crawford were mentioned on pages above. See also the writer's article on *Forts in the Iowa Country* in THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XII, pp. 170, 171.

¹⁸ Here, in Illinois, opposite the present town of Montrose, Iowa, the United States had established a "pattern farm" for the purpose of educating the Sacs and Foxes in agriculture. When Pike arrived, he found William Ewing in charge at a salary of \$500 annually, subject to the instructions of Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis.—Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, pp. 15, 222, 292.

The Sac villages in 1805 were situated at the head of the Des Moines or Lower Rapids and on the Iowa River on the west side, and at a point sixty miles above the pattern farm and near the mouth of the Rock River on the east side of the Mississippi. Fox villages stood six miles north of the Rock or Upper Rapids, at Dubuque's mines, and on Turkey River.—Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, pp. 337, 339.

¹⁹ This fact gives strength to the argument of those writers who claim that the Sac and Fox tribes never authorized the making of the treaty of 1804, or else it proves that the Sac chiefs visited by Pike belonged to Black Hawk's "British" band.

The exploring party learned of an Ioway village ten miles up the Iowa River, and at the foot of the Rock Rapids of the Mississippi they met and breakfasted with James Aird,²⁰ a Scotch trader from Mackinac. Later Pike met Maurice Blondeau²¹ and engaged him on account of his ability as an interpreter. At a Fox village farther north the chiefs asked Blondeau if Pike "were for war, or if going to war", and when he answered in the negative they presented the crew ducks and venison enough for one day. Concerning the alarm of the Foxes, Pike wrote:

They kept at a great distance, until spoken to by Mr. B. . . . It is surprising what a dread the Indians in this quarter have of the Americans. I have often seen them go round islands to avoid meeting my boat. It appears to me evident that the traders have taken great pains to impress upon the minds of the savages the idea of our being a very vindictive, ferocious, and warlike people. This impression was perhaps made with no good intention; but when they find that our conduct toward them is guided by magnanimity and justice, instead of operating in an injurious manner, it will have the effect to make them reverence at the same time they fear us.²²

Blondeau declared that the Indian women and children were frightened at the very name of an American boat and the men respected Americans for being very quarrelsome and very brave.²³ The impression which American soldiers left by their prowess with the sword in eastern battles many years before soon gained circulation among western tribes: accordingly the Americans had come to be called "Big Knives" or "Long Knives".

²⁰ James Aird also traded with tribes on the Missouri River. In September, 1806, he was the first person met by the returning expedition of Lewis and Clark.— See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 317.

²¹ Blondeau, a half-breed Fox Indian, is one of the picturesque characters frequently met with in early Iowa history. The whole story of his life would make pleasant reading.

²² Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, p. 34.

²³ Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, pp. 32, 34.

At Prairie du Chien Pike met and associated with three Americans named Fisher, Frazer, and Woods who were domiciled there. These men also accompanied him on a sight-seeing expedition to the Iowa shore of the Mississippi. The explorer believed there were three hundred and seventy persons dwelling at Prairie du Chien and a few more on Giard River in the Iowa country, though the number would be nearly doubled in the spring and autumn by the coming of Mackinac traders and their *engagés*, "who make this their last stage previous to launching into the savage wilderness." Of the population of Prairie du Chien Pike observed that one-half the inhabitants under twenty years of age had Indian blood in their veins, while only a few were gentlemen, "many others claiming that appellation; but the rivalry of the Indian trade occasions them to be guilty of acts at their wintering-grounds which they would blush to be thought guilty of in the civilized world. They possess the spirit of generosity and hospitality in an eminent degree, but this is the leading feature in the character of frontier inhabitants."²⁴

On the remainder of his journey farther north Lieutenant Pike visited several posts of the North West Company, warned their officials to leave the west side of the Mississippi in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1794, and called upon them to observe the United States laws by paying duties on their goods. He also ordered them not to display their country's flag or give medals to Indians anywhere on American soil.²⁵ So far as can be ascertained, Pike on his return journey made no final arrangements with the Sacs and Foxes as to where the trading-house

²⁴ Coues's *The Expeditions of Zebulon M. Pike*, Vol. I, pp. 37, 38, 224, 303, 304, 305; Vol. II, p. 421.

²⁵ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. IX, pp. 351-358; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 439, 440, and Vol. XIX, p. xviii.

promised by the government should be located in their country.

NICOLAS BOILVIN, FIRST INDIAN AGENT IN THE IOWA COUNTRY

Before Lieutenant Pike's return to St. Louis on the 30th of April, 1806, Henry Dearborn notified Nicolas Boilvin of his appointment as an Assistant Indian Agent. The letter of the Secretary of War,²⁶ which throws much light upon conditions prevailing in the Iowa country, reads as follows:

WAR DEPTMT. Ap. 10, 1806.

SIR — You having been appointed an Assistant Indian Agent, will make the Sacque Village, at the Rapids of the Mississippi, above the mouth of the River Lemoin, your principal place of residence, but will occasionally visit other Towns and places, particularly the Iawe [Ioway] Towns on the Lemoin, the other Sacque Towns, and the Prairie due Chien.

You will make every exertion in your power to conciliate the friendship of the Indians, generally, towards the United States, and to encourage a peaceable and friendly disposition among themselves; to prevent any acts of hostility on red or white people, and to cause proper punishment to be inflicted on such individuals as may be guilty of any hostile acts. You will, by all the means in your power, prevent the use of ardent spirits among the Indians. No Trader should be allowed to sell or dispose of any ardent spirits among them; nor be allowed to have any at their trading stations.

You will, by precept and example, teach the Indians such of the arts of agriculture and domestic manufactures, as your situation will admit. You will give all the aid in your power to Mr. Ewing, who has been placed among the Sacques, for the purpose of instructing them in the arts of husbandry. You should early procure Garden seeds, peach and other fruit stones, and apple seeds.²⁷ A Garden should be established for the most useful vegetables, and nurseries planted with fruit trees; for the purpose of distributing the most useful seeds and trees among such of the Chiefs as will take

²⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 314-316.

²⁷ In the early history of Lee County, Iowa, there are frequent references to an old apple orchard found by the first permanent settlers after 1833. The planting of this orchard has always been imputed to the Spanish grantee, Louis Honoré, *alias* Tesson, but on what authority is not known.

care to cultivate them. You should also instruct them in the art of cultivating and preserving the fruit trees and garden vegetables.

The cultivation of Potatoes ought to be immediately introduced into your own Garden;— and the Indians should be encouraged to cultivate them, as an important article of food, and the substitute for bread.

As soon as practicable, you will be furnished with a Blacksmith to make and mend the hoes and axes, and repair the Guns of the Natives. Ploughs should be introduced, as soon as any of the Chiefs will consent to use them. I am, respectfully, Sir, Yr. Obt. Ser^t.

[HENRY DEARBORN]

Of Nicolas Boilvin's official acts in the Iowa country no known record has survived. He is said to have filled his post until some time in 1808 when he removed to Prairie du Chien to serve as Indian Agent in the place of John Campbell who had been killed in a duel with Redford Crawford.²⁸ English traders and agents for English merchants still visited the Indians of northern Iowa. Faribault, who had ceased operations on the upper Des Moines in 1804 and returned to Mackinac, later traded upon the Minnesota River until the autumn of 1808, when he learned that impending war between the tribes of that region would interfere with the winter's hunts. He thereupon set out for the old post upon the Des Moines, and when a band of Ioways was on the point of robbing and killing him and his *voyageurs*, his friends, the Yankton Sioux, came along and escorted him in safety to "Redwood".²⁹

UNITED STATES FACTORY AND FORT MADISON

Pike's recommendation of three suitable sites for forts upon the Upper Mississippi was not immediately acted upon by President Jefferson's administration. But the government was definitely wedded to the policy indicated in

²⁸ *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 173; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 314.

²⁹ *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 174.

the Sac and Fox treaty of 1804: United States trading-houses were intended to give the Indians goods at cost prices and confer upon them the benefits of fair dealing as a respite from the tactics of a horde of unscrupulous private traders. President Washington had initiated this system among the southern Indians; Jefferson extended it to Detroit and Fort Wayne and then to the Louisiana Purchase. In 1805 the Detroit factory was removed to Fort Dearborn on the site of Chicago, and Fort Bellefontaine arose four miles above the mouth of the Missouri.

In the year 1808 the government removed its factory from Fort Bellefontaine to Fort Osage higher up the Missouri and erected another on Mackinac Island, the old rendezvous of French-Canadians and British traders. It is clear that the spread³⁰ of the system at this time was a part of the government's tariff policy of retaliation against Great Britain. American shipping upon the high seas had suffered repeated loss and humiliation at the hands of the British, and Jefferson meant no doubt to strike back in vigorous fashion and "destroy the equilibrium and profits of British traders in the upper Mississippi Valley"³¹ and the West. Planting a government factory in such a nest of English traders as Mackinac was a blow at the commerce then conducted by English colonial subjects with the Indian tribes of the United States.

Furthermore, at this time, the Montreal merchants who comprised the Michilimackinac Company suffered the capture by American soldiers of many boats of goods for the Indian trade. They petitioned the Governor-General of Canada for protection: with extreme concern they had observed the execution of "a systematic plan to drive the British Indian traders from American territory, by every

³⁰ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 768.

³¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. xviii.

species of vexation", and if "His Majesty's Government" did not soon take up their cause with decision, prevent interrupted navigation and fiscal extortions by Americans, and obtain for British traders the right to push their business interests to the west side of the Mississippi as before, they would soon have to abandon the trade to the east of the river as an object not worth pursuing.³²

Moreover, the year 1808 marks an important extension of American opposition to English traders in the Iowa country itself. The United States government now took steps to carry out its promise to the Sacs and Foxes. Orders were given to Lieutenant Alpha Kingsley of the First Infantry stationed at Fort Bellefontaine to march up the valley and select a good site for a fort as near the Des Moines River as possible. Accordingly, in command of a company of soldiers he fixed on a place on the 26th of September. Having set up a good picket fence around his winter camp of temporary cabins, he commenced work on the factory, store-houses, barracks, and other buildings of rough logs. By the first of December the soldiers expected to begin the erection of a small fort with three block-houses of hewed timber, all work to be completed by June 1, 1809, at slight expense compared "with the good effect that will result to the government." Kingsley believed no place on the river could prove healthier and "none more advantageous to the Indian trade." By spring he hoped to have the fort "so far advanced that it will bid defiance to the evil-minded savage, and at the same time insure the respect and friendship of the better disposed."³³

Fort Belle Vue, or Fort Madison as it was called in honor of the President, got word early in the spring that the Indians were preparing to raid the frontier settlements farther south. The commandant had sent Second Lieuten-

³² *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXV, pp. 255, 256.

³³ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 100.

ant Nathaniel Pryor³⁴ with six men to procure needed supplies at St. Louis, and fearing his inability to repel an attack, he pushed the construction with all haste and in two weeks' time took up quarters in the fort on April 14, 1809. Letters from Kingsley and others on the frontier sufficiently showed that the restlessness of the Indian tribes was principally attributable to the influence of foreigners trading in the country. One writer declared: "It appears that four English subjects have been at Rivière a la Roche [Rock River] this winter, in disguise; they have been there to get the nations together, and send them on the American frontiers. Other Indians are pushed on, by our enemies, to take the fort of Belle Vue."³⁵

An Ioway Indian brought news of the activity of British agents. Consequently, Kingsley urged that the sooner British traders were shut out of the country, the better for the American government.³⁶ He proposed to build the factory house inside the pickets, but when the Sacs and Foxes showed unmistakable signs of opposition to this plan, he decided to build the factory warehouses inside and the store outside the pickets, about one hundred yards away.

³⁴ For a sketch of the life of this man, one of the four Lewis and Clark sergeants, see THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, p. 526. In addition to what is there stated, it is interesting to know that Pryor was a cousin of Sergeant Floyd who died and was buried near the site of Sioux City, Iowa, in 1804. General James met him among the Osage Indians in 1821 and afterward said that he was "a captain at the battle of New Orleans. On the reduction of the army after the war, he was discharged to make way for some parlor soldier and sunshine patriot, and turned out in his old age upon the 'world's wide common.' I found him here among the Osages, with whom he had taken refuge from his country's ingratitude, and was living as one of their tribe." Pryor was at one time a trader among the Osages, being supplied with goods by Abraham Gallatin of St. Louis, a brother of Albert Gallatin. He died before October 22, 1831, in debt and without heirs. A town in Oklahoma was later named for him.—*Missouri Historical Society Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 252, 253.

³⁵ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, p. 799.

³⁶ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 101.

In the month of May, 1809, Kingsley inquired from headquarters how far and in what manner the soldiers were to be employed for the factory department; whether the factory buildings were to be erected altogether by the soldiers; and if so, what number of houses should be erected. The factor, John W. Johnson, contended that the soldiers should finish the factory before they began to erect a permanent fort, and the War Department supported his contention, each soldier thereby becoming entitled to extra pay "at the rate of ten cents per day, and one gill of whiskey."³⁷

In the month of May, four hundred canoe-loads of Sacs landed at the fort on their way north to plant corn at their summer village. Returning from their winter's hunts, they accordingly paid off in furs the debts which they had contracted at the factory the previous autumn. They then requested that their young men be allowed to dance inside the stockade to please the garrison, and behaved uneasily when they were met with a refusal. Appearing at the front gate in a body, they fell into utter confusion when a loaded six-pounder and a soldier with lighted port met their gaze. In the retreat which followed, "every man raised his war club in the air with a tremendous war whoop, disappointed and mad that their plans were discovered." This band of hostile Sacs had expected to burn the fort, rob the factory, and massacre the soldiers. Next day some old chiefs made excuses by saying they had no control over the bad young men who had now gone to war under the direction of white men.³⁸

When Captain Horatio Stark arrived from St. Louis with eight soldiers to assume command of the new fort in August, 1809, the garrison totaled eighty-one men, and the factory employees under Johnson numbered seven persons,

³⁷ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 102.

³⁸ For an account of this Indian plot against Fort Madison, see *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 519-525.

some acting as interpreters, others as clerks to tie up and transport packs of furs to St. Louis and New Orleans.

One is not surprised to find the Sacs and Foxes in a state of alarm while these military measures were under way in their country. The notorious Sac brave, Black Hawk, later told how the American soldiers went about their work, weapons in hand, "acting as if they were in an enemy's country". To allay their fears the Indians were informed that these were only houses for a trader who was coming there to live and sell goods very cheaply, and that the soldiers would remain "to keep him company".³⁹ Despite remonstrances by the natives, officers' quarters, two barracks, a guardhouse, and a surgeon's office were constructed of native timber within a high palisaded stockade overlooking the river. The factory store and a sutler's store were completed during the winter of 1809-1810, although trade had been in full swing since the month of August, 1808, chiefly with the Sacs and Foxes, and the Ioways.⁴⁰

The Mississippi country was then overrun with English traders, no doubt the agents of the Mackinac Company. Inasmuch as their traffic was directly threatened⁴¹ by the American government, they became the principal instigators of discontent among the western tribes — indeed, they fanned the flame of Indian hostility against Americans everywhere. Despite the fact that they were liable to pay duties upon goods imported for the Indian trade, they found easy ways of evading the law and charging their Indian customers the highest prices, but their influence over the tribesmen was undoubted and easily accounted for by George Hunt, the sutler of Fort Madison, who wrote:

Their goods were of the very best quality, manufactured expressly for the Indian trade. Their rifles were just what the Indian re-

³⁹ See any edition of Black Hawk's *Autobiography*.

⁴⁰ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 247, 770, 789.

⁴¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 5.

quired & the powder of the very best quality; whereas the goods sent to the American factors were of a very inferior quality, in fact, it would seem that all the old goods of all our cities were bought up as good enough for wild Indians. At first the goods were laughed at, ridiculed by the Indians. The leading articles of trade, such as blankets, cloths, powder, rifles, &c., were miserable. The blankets were small and thin, weighing but half the weight of an English trader's blanket; the cloths also were this, and worse, so narrow that two yards would not make a match-i-co-ta for a squaw and the calico would not, from age, hold together. The traps were good for nothing; the springs would break but the government furnished a blacksmith under charge of Mr. Johnson, the factor, who mended their traps, axes, kettles, guns, &c., &c. The article of traps from their bad quality greatly disappointed those who bought them for they always had new springs to make; in fact the goods were badly laid in for the Indian trade. The factors were constantly complaining of the quality of goods sent them.

The British traders made a handle of it and the Indians became dissatisfied with their father, the President, for sending goods so inferior to those brought by their old traders. Some years elapsed before better goods were furnished. In the meantime British traders exerted themselves to poison the minds of the Sacks and Foxes against the new traders and the Big Knives.⁴²

Thus it was that Fort Madison and its factory received no cordial welcome from the British faction of the Sac and Fox tribes under Black Hawk, despite the government's philanthropic motives.⁴³ Trade, nevertheless, flourished to a considerable extent; under the superintendency of John W. Johnson who received a salary of \$800 and subsistence valued at \$365 per year, the factory carried on a thriving business. By an inventory completed down to the end of the year 1809 "Le Moine Factory" showed merchandise, furs, peltries, cash on hand, and debts due to the value of about \$12,000, and \$5000 worth of goods in transit for the

⁴² See Hunt's narrative as reprinted in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. XI, pp. 518, 519.

⁴³ For an extended account of these motives see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 326-330.

trade. At that time, also, there lay unsold at New Orleans shaved deer skins for which the factor had paid over \$6000, besides deer skins in hair, bear skins of two qualities, otter skins, beeswax, and tallow for which the Indians had received about \$1500. John Mason, Superintendent of the Indian Trade, also acknowledged the receipt of \$2700 worth of beaver, muskrat, and raccoon skins. He had already approved Johnson's action in giving credit to certain chiefs for goods worth \$1400 and the same amount in pacotills to traders named Dorion and Blondeau, but Johnson was warned not to send traders into the interior without consulting Governor Lewis who would best know from time to time when it would be politic to trade with certain tribes. Government factors were, as a general rule, to give credit to none but Indian chiefs nor were they to furnish private traders except with goods of which there was a surplus.⁴⁴

According to a report for the year 1811 John W. Johnson had received a \$200 raise in salary and an assistant, Asa Payne, who was paid \$500 a year and \$150 for subsistence. A general report on trade at the ten United States factories for the years 1808-1811 reveals the fact that four had operated at a loss while six made substantial gains, among them Fort Madison with a gain of over \$10,000, surpassed only by the houses at forts Osage and Wayne. The northern factories were financially successful, first, because they took in hatters' furs which found a ready market for home consumption in America; and secondly, because the Indians worked several side-lines, as was the case, for instance, in the Iowa country where they engaged "in digging the ore, and melting down lead", in which they were said to succeed remarkably well. The southern factories bought up piles of deer skins which, having to seek an outlet in Europe, were left to be eaten by vermin because American commerce

⁴⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 769, 770, 772, 773; and Vol. II, p. 521. See also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 328.

upon the high seas was then being repeatedly plundered by the British in their efforts to starve out Napoleon.⁴⁵

Early in 1811 Nicolas Boilvin, United States Indian Agent, made his plea for a government factory at Prairie du Chien on the ground that the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways could be as well supplied there as at Fort Madison, "particularly as they have mostly abandoned the chase, except to furnish themselves with meat, and turned their attention to the manufacture of lead, which they procure from a mine about sixty miles below Prairie des Chiens. During the last season they manufactured four hundred thousand pounds of that article, which they exchanged for goods." Among the traders who were buying this lead was Jean Baptiste Faribault, who had, in 1809, severed his connection with the North West Company and set up in business at Prairie du Chien on his own account. At first he had traded with Julien Dubuque and conveyed his lead to St. Louis in keel-boats at a good profit. After Dubuque's death in 1810, Faribault continued dealing in lead, and when the British captured Prairie du Chien in 1814, he was robbed by their savage allies of \$3000 worth of lead stored at Dubuque's mines.⁴⁶

Boilvin further assured the government that as soon as the Indians could be induced to turn their attention to lead mining, Canadian traders would wholly abandon the country, as lead had no commercial value to them. In his letter he declared:

To introduce the manufacture of lead, requires only the adoption of the measures I have mentioned. The factory at Prairie des Chiens ought to be well supplied with goods, and lead ought to be received in exchange for the merchandise. This trade would be the more valuable to the United States, as lead is not a perishable article, and is easily transported; whereas peltries are bulky, and

⁴⁵ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 784, 789.

⁴⁶ *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, pp. 174, 175.

large quantities are annually spoiled before they reach the market; under such a system, the Canadian trade would be extinguished.⁴⁷

Boilvin did not, however, carry his point: events were gradually carrying England and the United States into war. Repeated injustice to American commerce had led, in March, 1811, to the enactment by Congress of a law prohibiting the importation of British goods into the United States. The War Department notified factory agents to anticipate and frustrate attempts of British traders to convince the Indians that this measure was intended as an act of hostility against the Indian tribes. The factors were to explain to Indian chiefs that the government of the United States had been forced "by long continued injuries and violations of their rights on the part of Great Britain . . . to interdict their trade rather than make war against them". To resist English insinuations and conciliate the tribes, the factors were ordered to be vigilant, indulge the Indians, and make them presents as circumstances might require.⁴⁸

THE RISE OF JOHN JACOB ASTOR

The extensive promotion of private commercial operations with Indian tribes around the Great Lakes and in the Upper Mississippi Valley had already been begun by an enterprising German who was destined to establish the first trust in the United States.⁴⁹ As early as 1800 John Jacob Astor had come to be looked upon as a power in the Montreal fur market — in that year he and another dealer obtained a corner on muskrat skins;⁵⁰ in 1808 he incorporated as the American Fur Company under the laws of the State

⁴⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 252.

⁴⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 338, 339.

⁴⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 336, 337.

⁵⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 290.

For Astor's early life see Chittenden's *The History of the American Fur*

of New York; in 1810 he formed the Pacific Fur Company for pushing the fur trade as far west as the Columbia River; and in 1811 he founded Astoria. Three years later Astor and several partners of the North West Company of Canada bought out the Mackinac Company which in its trade with tribes upon American soil had slowly been squeezed out by the United States government.

Having obtained a controlling share in the new enterprise, Astor called it the South West Company⁵¹ and established headquarters at Mackinac and the important rendezvous at Prairie du Chien: indeed, four traders of the old company at this village are said to have obtained one-third of the stock of the new company — Robert Dickson, Joseph Rolette, Murdoch Cameron, and James Frazer.⁵² Profits gained from trade in the Iowa country in competition with the government's agent at Fort Madison therefore began to flow into Astor's pockets. Nor did his purchase of the Mackinac Company mean that the employees would be thrown out of work — on the contrary,

Trade of the Far West, Vol. I, pp. 163-170. See also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. xvi.

Born near Heidelberg, Germany, a butcher's son, at the age of sixteen he went to London to work in his uncle's music store. At the age of twenty he sailed for America with a small lot of musical instruments to sell on commission. On shipboard, however, he met a furrier who told him of the immense profits to be gained from buying furs from the Indians and frontiersmen and selling again to large dealers. Astor began to work for a fur house at New York, and when he had mastered the details, set up in business for himself, working early and late. Then he formed connections with fur houses in London. He bought and exported furs, sold musical instruments, and married a woman of rare business judgment. All these brought him a fortune of \$250,000 before the year 1800. Later he shipped furs in his own vessels and brought back European goods. Astor's conception of a trade in furs independent of the big Canadian companies seems to have taken definite form in 1809: he planned to establish a chain of trading-posts from the Great Lakes overland to the Pacific and to run ships between the western coast and the ports of China and India.

⁵¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 101; and Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, pp. 309, 310.

⁵² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 440, and Vol. XIX, p. 191.

Astor availed himself of the experience, training, and natural fitness of the small army of half-breeds, French-Canadians, and English who had been engaged in the fur trade for so many years. He retained English Canadian subjects as traders; and as a result, when the War of 1812 broke out, all of Astor's enterprises fell to ruin and his scheme of a national monopoly collapsed, only to be revived at the dawn of a better day.

THE WAR OF 1812 IN THE EASTERN IOWA COUNTRY

During the years 1808 and 1809 the English of Canada exerted a great influence over the Winnebago Indians of the Rock River. They employed a chief "to get all the nations of Indians to Detroit, to see their fathers, the British, who tell them they pity them in their situation with the Americans, because the Americans had taken their lands and their game; that they must join and send them off from their lands; they told the savages that the Americans could not give them a blanket, nor any good thing for their families." In 1810 the Shawnee Prophet busied himself soliciting the aid of the Ioways and Sacs and Foxes against the United States government. In July of that year the Sacs and Foxes were reported as having received the tomahawk, ready to strike whenever the Prophet gave the signal. A considerable number of them went to see the British at Detroit and Malden where they were liberally supplied with everything they needed, such as rifles, fusils, and plenty of powder and lead. "This", said a letter to the War Department, "is sending fire-brands into the Mississippi country, inasmuch as it will draw numbers of our Indians to the British side, in the hope of being treated with the same liberality."⁵³

⁵³ Nicolas Boilvin, Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, wrote to the Secretary of War as follows:

"Great danger, both to individuals and to the Government, is to be apprehended from the Canadian traders; they endeavor to incite the Indians against

In the spring of 1811, the Ioways got word that the time was drawing near when a general massacre was to begin, and "all the Indians who will not join are to die with the whites." In September, three hundred Sacs were reported to have visited the British agent at Malden who urged them not to participate in the meditated war. In November, White Rabbit, a Pottawattamie chief, went on a mission from the Prophet to the Sacs, Foxes, and Sioux to gain them over for a campaign in the spring of 1812. The government's informant asserted his belief that the mission would not succeed, adding that the Sacs, Foxes, and some Ioways had been under the influence of the Prophet and the British but without mischief, because their plans had been discovered in time. British agents were, however, still tampering with all of them.⁵⁴

In the month of September, 1811, John W. Johnson sent George Hunt, the sutler at Fort Madison, with an outfit of government goods to trade with the Sacs and Foxes who had then been engaged for a year in working the lead mines of the Illinois country above the mouth of Galena River. Hunt hired two Frenchmen and two discharged soldiers to help him carry up the goods. After their arrival at the mines he dismissed the Frenchmen, and retained a young half-breed as interpreter and the Americans to build boats for the conveyance of lead. Upon the bank of the Mississippi Hunt erected a store, lead-house, and fur-house, and carried on a profitable trade that autumn, expecting to reap a larger harvest of furs in the spring of 1812. But at this juncture William Henry Harrison defeated the confeder-

us; partly to monopolize their trade and partly to secure friendship in case a war should break out between us and England. They are constantly making large presents to the Indians, which the latter consider as a sign of approaching war, and under this impression frequently apply to me for advice on the subject."—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 251.

⁵⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 799, 800, 801, 802.

ated Indian tribes of the West in the famous battle of Tippecanoe in November, 1811.

Among the routed savages was a band of Winnebagoes who lost heavily and withdrew to their lodges on the Rock River. They painted for war and hastened to the mines where as a New Year's greeting they riddled Hunt's men with bullets and tore them limb from limb, stripping their bones of all flesh.⁵⁵ They then robbed Hunt of all his goods, including "a dozen fine linen shirts", burned his trading-house after giving the furs to some Sacs, and had they not believed Hunt himself was an Englishman (for they called him "Saginash"), he might immediately have shared the fate of his companions. At length the murderous band discovered and consumed a barrel of whisky which thus proved to be the source of Hunt's salvation. Hunt and his half-breed interpreter, Victor Lagotery, escaped southward, arriving with a young Sac guide at Fort Madison at sundown on the evening of January 6, 1812, where they found Mr. Johnson at tea.

On the 7th of January, 1812, Johnson wrote to Benjamin Howard, Governor of Missouri Territory, (the Iowa country then comprised a part of St. Charles County), that an expressman had left there on foot to apprise the people of Prairie du Chien of the battle of Tippecanoe, and that on the day before the express had left there with M. John McRae for St. Louis with many letters and papers. Johnson asked for immediate relief in anticipation of a Winnebago war party. Howard wrote to the War Department that only a punitive campaign in Illinois could procure durable peace upon the frontiers; while General William Clark on January 12th also reported the events near "the Spanish mines". Captain Horatio Stark, however, sent word of a Sac council's decision for peace.

⁵⁵ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 805, 806.

Early in February, 1812, Hunt, a discharged sergeant, and an interpreter — all on horseback — joined an expressman, Willard, on his return journey to St. Louis from Prairie du Chien and the mines. Later, Johnson informed William Clark by express that on March 3rd a war party of five Winnebagoes killed one of the corporals a short distance from Fort Madison. On March 22nd Clark reported that Tecumseh had won the ear of Sacs and Sioux and that a Pottawattamie called Marpack had sent runners from the vicinity of Fort Madison to his nation informing them he would play a new game with the Americans. A week before a considerable band of Sacs and Foxes who were friendly toward the Americans had left their villages upon the Mississippi River to make their abode upon the Missouri River, declaring their determination to continue in friendship with the United States.

Early in April Asa Payne left Fort Madison and informed General Clark at St. Louis that on March 29th the Winnebagoes had shot a sentinel, that on the 3rd of April another sentinel had reciprocated by shooting a Winnebago, and that small parties of Winnebagoes were continually about the fort. Governor Edwards of Illinois Territory also received constant advices from frontier posts confirming the hostile intentions of the Indians and fearing a bloody war by a formidable combination of savages. He reported on May 12th that, inasmuch as differences had arisen between the Sacs and the Foxes, the United States should support the latter to prevent their joining the hostile confederacy then forming.

George Hunt ventured to start out for the site of his post on the Mississippi in order to bring away his lead which had been melted into a solid lump when the Winnebagoes burned his trading-house. He took passage on one of three French boats which left St. Louis in May, 1812.

They had proceeded some distance above Fort Madison when they met Maurice Blondeau with a boat-load of furs bound for St. Louis. He informed them that a force of Winnebagoes had occupied Rock Island in the Mississippi and were levying tribute upon all Frenchmen and French boats and threatening to slaughter all Americans. Hunt therefore abandoned his projected trip and embarked southward with Blondeau who immediately showed him an object of interest stowed away among his packs of furs in the person of Lieutenant Pryor. The latter was just completing his escape from the Winnebagoes who had visited him also on January 1st. The whole party landed at Fort Madison and on the next day went on to St. Louis.⁵⁶

In the month of June, 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain, citing among its grievances the Indian disturbances in the Northwest. The British military operations which ensued in the Upper Mississippi Valley constituted little more than the determined efforts of British traders to beat back the advancing power of American government and trade; for one of Canada's main resources was furs and peltries, and to obtain these the mother country furnished the manufactured goods. Hence both Canadians and Englishmen united to uphold their interests. The commandants at Fort Madison, Mackinac, Detroit, and Fort Dearborn (Chicago) had to bear the brunt of the British attack, unformidable as it was. Captain Stark of Fort Madison was ordered to put his fortification into the best possible state of defense and to exercise vigilance: any number of Indians could then be resisted. After Ensign Barony Vasquez arrived with a relief force of twelve soldiers the captain departed with a small party of soldiers

⁵⁶ For the facts above enumerated see THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 527-543; and *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. I, pp. 807, 808, 809.

for service down the river, and the post then came under the command of Lieutenant Thomas Hamilton.⁵⁷

On the fifth day of September, a band of over two hundred Winnebagoes, infuriated by their defeat on the Wabash, and Sacs under Black Hawk attacked the garrison, scalped a soldier, burned the boat and cargo of a trader named Graham and two government boats, killed some cattle, and plundered and burnt the houses of men named Julien and M'Nabb. For three days they besieged the fort and threw fire upon the block-houses which were only saved from conflagration by the use of guns as syringes. Fearing that the savages would set fire to the factory and endanger the whole fort if the wind blew from that direction, Hamilton one calm evening caused the factory to be burned.

The Indians were believed to have had several killed during the siege.⁵⁸ Hamilton and Vasquez were complimented on the way in which they defended a post so badly situated: the interior of the stockade lay within view of the hills round about and was surrounded by chasms within ten or twelve paces of the pickets and block-houses. From these places the Indians had hurled hundreds of pieces of burning timber and kept up "a continued sheet of fire from guns, fiery arrows and brands." But the brave fellows within were able now and then to knock over "such *red skins* as had the impudence to peep over the bank."

That the site of Fort Madison was unsuitable and therefore difficult to defend, many reports bear witness. Benjamin Howard, Governor over the Missouri and Iowa country, had repeatedly advised the authorities at Washington to remove the post further up the river, preferably to Prairie du Chien. The War Department in October, 1812, instructed the withdrawal of troops and all army stores from Fort

⁵⁷ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 103, 104.

⁵⁸ THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS, Vol. XI, pp. 544, 545.

Madison, but learned of the impracticability of evacuation until March when the Mississippi would be free of ice. When March of the year 1813 came, Governor Howard deemed evacuation impolitic under the circumstances, declaring that if abandonment were to take place then, "the measure could be employed with great dexterity among the Indians by British agents, as evidence of our inability to maintain it, and would embolden those who are now hostile, and probably decide the wavering to take part against us."⁵⁹

Another reason for holding the fort at this time lay in the fact that Fort Madison was the only place where persons could safely be sent and kept to collect information regarding the views and movements of the British and their Indian allies. Furthermore, Governor Howard suggested, if the government's difficulty with the Indians of this region were ever to terminate, it would be absolutely necessary to make a campaign as far north as the Wisconsin River and then to erect a fort at Prairie du Chien: in the prosecution of such a campaign what place better than Fort Madison could be used as a base of supply and operations? In case the Indians were aided by a British force with artillery Fort Madison would probably fall, but to repel such a force a fortified boat or two would prove very useful: garrison and gunboats could then coöperate "in arresting an attempt of the enemy to descend the river against the [Missouri and Illinois] settlements below, and in the event of a serious attack of the Post on the land side, the command in them can be drawn with facility to its support." On the 8th of April, 1813, the Governor, then on an inspection tour which included Fort Madison, advised the postponement of the evacuation of the post, but he favored "every necessary preparation to a relinquishment of the garrison".⁶⁰

⁵⁹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 105, 106.

⁶⁰ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 107.

Two months later the garrison, consisting of about one hundred men, repulsed a small body of Indians, and on the 16th of July withstood a second attack with the loss of a corporal and three privates who were butchered and mangled in a small block-house commanding a hollow ravine where the savages found shelter. Lieutenant Thomas Hamilton submitted a report of the storming and added:

I must begin again cursing the situation of this garrison. If there is any necessity for one in this part of the country why can it not be removed to a more eligible spot? The Indians have decided advantage over us in our present position, and will always succeed whenever they attempt to kill a man. It is true we may prevent them from taking the garrison, but that, sir, . . . must be attended with great slaughter, for I never heard of greater acts of desperation offered by any of the tribes than what has been shown in storming the small block-house. Our incessant watching I fear is . . . why I have so many at present on the sick report.

Lieutenant Hamilton also complained that there was a lack of wood, so that he was under the necessity "to burn some of the petty mouldings in some of the fine buildings." He also called for musket powder and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inch shells.⁶¹

But no help came. Besieged by the Indians, reduced to the direst extremity and driven to the verge of starvation, the garrison had no alternative but to surrender or escape. During the night of the 3rd of September a trench was dug from the southeast block-house to the river; the soldiers removed their provisions and property, and gained their boats by crawling out on hands and knees. They embarked safely and departed southward, leaving the fort wrapped in flames to the enemy's utter surprise.⁶²

⁶¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 108.

⁶² *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, p. 110.

The propriety of rebuilding Fort Madison on a site further north was considered advisable for reasons already stated. Captain John Cleves Symmes wrote from St. Louis in October, 1813, that he had been ordered to rebuild the post and assume command. But events prevented the execution of the plan.

During the winter of 1813 and early months of 1814 the French traders at Mackinac, pro-British in their sympathies, made preparations to descend upon the Americans at Prairie du Chien. Louis Grignon, whose *voyageurs* were to be used as a part of the invading force, reported from Green Bay on January 10, 1814, that he had got news from Sacs and Foxes who had come from Fort Madison that "a Capt. of Gov. Howard was to come to Prairie du Chien with an army of 2700 men." Grignon declared: "Many think this is not their plan, for soon after we learned that they had gone up the river Des Moines and built a Ft. at Pees and then that they had come down the same river."⁶³

Early in May, 1814, William Clark, the new Governor of Missouri Territory, ascended the Mississippi River from St. Louis with gunboat and barges conveying one hundred and fifty volunteers and sixty regulars. Just north of Prairie du Chien they erected a stockade, Fort Shelby, and equipped it with six pieces of cannon, relying upon the gunboat's fourteen cannon for further protection. Upon Governor Clark's departure southward, Lieutenant Joseph Perkins took command. Soon a few British military men with a motley force of traders, fur trade employees, and several hundred Indian allies from Mackinac, appeared before Prairie du Chien on July 17, 1814, and summoned Perkins to surrender. Not until after considerable cannon fire was the American gunboat driven downstream and pursued by French and Indians in canoes as far as the rapids at Rock Island; Perkins ran up the white flag; and Fort Shelby became Fort McKay in the hands of the Anglo-savage army of Great Britain.⁶⁴ About this time also British forces were burning the national capitol and the President's house at Washington.

⁶³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 283. The location of the fort at "Pees" can not be determined.

⁶⁴ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XV, p. 623.

It may seem surprising, but it is a fact nevertheless, that the British placed great strategic importance upon this little frontier post in the wilderness. They feared that Americans would win over tribe after tribe of the Indians friendly to the English and thus "destroy the only barrier which protects the Great trading establishments of the North West & the Hudson's Bay Company." Nothing could then prevent the Americans from extending their power up the Mississippi, thence by the Red River to Lake Winnipeg, and by Nelson's River to Hudson Bay, thus aiding in the expulsion of the English from Upper Canada.⁶⁵

In July an American force under Lieutenant John Campbell was checked three miles above Rock Island by a party of Sacs and Foxes under the command of Black Hawk, suffered a bloody repulse, and retreated with a loss of nine killed, sixteen wounded, and one boat of stores captured.⁶⁶ To destroy the village and crops of these hostile Sacs and Foxes upon the Rock River, Major Zachary Taylor set out from St. Louis with about three hundred and fifty men in August. On the 6th of September, as Taylor's armed keel-boats were preparing to ascend Rock Rapids, an English artillery officer with thirty men welcomed Taylor's force with a brass three-pounder and two swivels: these were handled so dexterously with coöperation from the Sacs and Foxes on shore that the American boats hastily retired downstream, stopping long enough near the river Des Moines to make repairs and bury their dead. Taylor wrote and dated a report of the skirmish at the ruins of Fort Madison.⁶⁷ Opposite the mouth of the Des Moines River

⁶⁵ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XV, p. 611.

⁶⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 220-222; and *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, p. 251.

⁶⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 199, 220, 238; and Downer's *History of Davenport and Scott County, Iowa*, Vol. I, pp. 79-81, contains Taylor's letter.

Taylor then constructed Fort Johnson. During the ensuing winter messengers from three nations in winter quarters at the "Riviere des Ayouais"—Sacs, Kickapoos, and Foxes—came to the commandant at Prairie du Chien to report that the new fort had been abandoned and burned by the Americans themselves in October, 1814.⁶⁸ Not long after Taylor's repulse, Andrew Jackson and his army of backwoodsmen overwhelmed an army of England's Napoleonic veterans at New Orleans, thus blasting at once all British hopes of winning the American West.

French-British traders were, however, in undisputed possession of the entire Upper Mississippi Valley. By the distribution⁶⁹ of public stores at Fort McKay the British maintained their grip upon all the Indian tribes of the region. They called the Sacs "Mississippi Indian heroes". Indeed, the Sacs and Foxes who had not removed to the Missouri River to be within the protection of the American lines made repeated protestations of their sincerity to the British cause. At one time they brought from the Des Moines River to Fort McKay ten scalps, asserting they would continue "to bring them in as they do ducks from the swamps."⁷⁰ British traders now introduced their goods into the country at will and they hoped that if peace were restored they might retain their ascendancy.

Peace negotiations between the warring nations had already been opened: the British commissioners at first insisted that the United States set apart some of the Northwest to be held by the Indians under a guarantee of Great Britain, and they demanded freedom of navigation upon the Mississippi River. But the treaty concluded at Ghent in December, 1814, contained no such privileges, although news of this did not reach Fort McKay until May, 1815.

⁶⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 243, 250.

⁶⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 279-281.

⁷⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. IX, pp. 207, 239, 240, 272.

Thus was cut short the British régime in the Iowa-Wisconsin region. The treaty placed the English government in an embarrassing position because English army officers had promised supplies from time to time to such of their Indian allies as would come to Drummond Island: they had forced the Sacs into war and now called on the British government to make good all their promises. For years thereafter Sac and Fox Indians obtained presents and supplies from their English friends in Canada.⁷¹

FUR TRADE OPERATIONS AFTER THE WAR OF 1812

Active steps were at once taken by the American government to resume friendly relations with England's Indian allies in the war. Governor William Clark of Missouri Territory, Governor Ninian Edwards of Illinois Territory, and Auguste Chouteau, the St. Louis merchant, were commissioned by President James Monroe to enter into negotiations with the tribes. They accordingly summoned Indian deputations to Portage des Sioux, just above the mouth of the Missouri. In July and September peace was "reëstablished" between the United States and the Sioux, Kickapoos, Osages, Ioways, and other tribes. The eight hundred Sacs, who at the outbreak of war had removed to the Missouri and Osage rivers⁷² in order to show their disapproval of Black Hawk and his warlike followers, now renewed their friendly relations with the government, assented to the treaty of 1804, and promised to remain where they were until the Sacs of the Rock River had surrendered. The Foxes, then estimated to number about 1200 persons dwelling below Prairie du Chien, also agreed to "perpetual peace

⁷¹ *Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. VI, p. 252; Thwaites's *Wisconsin*, p. 177; and *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 97, 169.

⁷² *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 62, 76. Maurice Blondeau received \$800 as Indian Sub-agent for the Sacs and Foxes on the Missouri.

and friendship", confirmed the treaty of 1804, and promised to deliver up the prisoners in their hands.⁷³

Many months were to pass before the hostile Sacs, who were then said to dwell 3200 strong upon the Rock River, came to terms. They stood aloof and remained so menacing that the only alternative presented to the commissioners seemed a military campaign. British traders had planned and caused the war: they were now accused of fanning Indian hostility. When all the other tribes had buried the tomahawk, the commissioners wrote:⁷⁴ "The Sacs of Rock River have ultimately refused to treat with us in the most positive manner; speak, without disguise, of their opposition to military establishments on the Mississippi river; and have continued to commit occasional but serious depredations on this frontier." Their many "flagitious acts" and their refusal to listen to overtures and consent to the treaty concessions of 1804 were attributed to British traders. But the government's patience was at length rewarded by a treaty in May, 1816.

The restoration of peace found the Iowa country more of a wilderness than before, marked, indeed, by a monument to the government's generous but unsuccessful attempt to make friends of the native population: Fort Madison and Des Moines Factory lay reduced to a heap of ruins. After the departure of the troops and factory employees late in 1813, however, factory operations had been continued by John W. Johnson somewhere else⁷⁵ as indicated by his annual reports until March 31, 1815. It would seem that

⁷³ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 120-122.

⁷⁴ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 83.

⁷⁵ Thomas Forsyth writes that he had advised and procured the removal of the friendly Sacs and Foxes to the Missouri and the establishment of the factory there. He declares that many returned to their fellow tribesmen on the Rock River after the winter of 1813, so that in September, 1814, only about two hundred warriors dwelt in lodges upon the Missouri.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 331, 334.

Johnson accompanied the friendly Sacs and Foxes to the Missouri River country where all might live and trade within the protection of the American lines while the war dragged on. Thus secure from the attacks of the hostile British band of Sacs and Foxes, Johnson did a profitable business until he closed the factory doors in the spring of 1815. He then removed his goods to St. Louis.⁷⁶ For four years he had run his house at a gain of nearly \$13,000 to the government, despite war losses aggregating \$5,500.⁷⁷

British and Indians had thus for several years resisted the inroads of government traders and military forces in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Governor Edwards of Illinois Territory in his report to the Secretary of War boldly criticised the government's policy as follows:

For my part, I have never been able to discover, and I defy any man to specify, a solitary public advantage that has resulted from it in this country; while the melancholy fate of Chicago, the attacks upon Fort Madison, other early hostilities in its vicinity, the signal escape of the agents with the public goods from the Missouri, and the undeniable fact that, during the most successful operation of the public trading-houses at the above-mentioned places, individuals constantly vended more goods to the Indians for whose benefit those houses were established than the public agents did — all combine to afford practical demonstration that the system under consideration is neither calculated to conciliate and accommodate the Indians, nor for successful competition with British traders.⁷⁸

For several years British traders had smuggled most of their goods into the American Indian territory: they had come by way of Chicago and the Illinois River, very often by way of Green Bay and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers, and

⁷⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 386, 387.

⁷⁷ The reader who is interested can find the annual reports of old Fort Madison or Des Moines Factory in *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 34, 36, 37, 42, 44, 47, 49, 51, 53, 57, 59, 60, 68. The losses by fire consisted of sixty packs of peltries, one hundred and twenty bear skins, other articles, and buildings valued at \$3321.

⁷⁸ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 64.

also by Lake Superior to the sources of the Mississippi.⁷⁹ Forts at Green Bay, Chicago, and Prairie du Chien were recommended by Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, as a necessary means of ensuring the collection of import duties and the enforcement of trade regulations. It was also suggested that if the government hoped to drive out or even compete on even terms with British traders, it would be necessary to adopt the policy of advancing on security goods to traders who might go to the Indians for business at their hunting camps. These traders would employ a large number of Canadian *engagés* and *voyageurs* by offering them higher wages than they received from their British masters. In this way only could English influence be destroyed: let traders with government goods do a credit business, trust their Indian customers, and let them tramp through cold and snow with goods on their shoulders to the Indians' hunting grounds.⁸⁰

THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY IN THE IOWA COUNTRY

The year 1816 marked some very important developments in the history of the Indian trade in the Upper Mississippi Valley. In the first place, Congress at the instigation of John Jacob Astor, it is said,⁸¹ passed an act which prohibited foreign merchants and foreign capital from participating in Indian trade within United States territory. This was a hard blow to British subjects then engaged in the fur business. Secondly, Astor bought out "all the interests which the gentlemen of Montreal held in

⁷⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 377, 378.

⁸⁰ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 65, 66, 67, 78. Such were the recommendations of Auguste Chouteau of St. Louis, who had amassed a fortune from forty or fifty years of Indian trade. See also Thomas Forsyth's letter of September, 1815, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, pp. 344, 345.

⁸¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 102; Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, p. 310; and *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, Vol. VI, p. 343.

the South West fur Company" and reorganized the enterprise as the American Fur Company with headquarters at Mackinac Island.⁸² Thirdly, the government set up factories at Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. To the latter place John W. Johnson removed "all the factory goods and implements remaining from the establishment at the River Le Moin," coming under the protection of the troops of a new post called Fort Crawford in June. To the south, on Rock Island, arose Fort Armstrong in May, and later opposite the Des Moines River, in Illinois, was erected Fort

⁸² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, p. 101, Vol. XVIII, p. 440, and Vol. XIX, pp. 405-407, 451.

Something of Astor's plan may be gathered from the following letter, in which Mr. Astor is variously called "an old friend of ours", "the old Cock", and "the old Tyger":

Brooklyn 21st March 1815.

Dear Crooks:—

Long ere now you must have chalked me down in your *Black Buke* for a most ungrateful, lazy dog, but my good fellow you must no longer remain under that surly impression, for be it known unto you, that almost ever since you last heard from me I have been *Campaigning* it between this and the *Canadian lines*, partly for myself and particularly for an old friend of ours; the result of this peregrination &c. you shall have at full length when we meet, which I hope you will accelerate as much as circumstances may permit: I am now in the full bustle of preparation for Albany, where business calls me for a few days, therefore, have only time to give you the purport of a short *tete-a-tete* I had with the old Cock this morning, Viz —

That he is digesting a very extensive plan for establishing all the Indian Countries within the line of demarkation between G. B. & the U. S. and the probability is that a considerable time may elapse before that object can be brought to full maturity, as he wants an exclusive grant or privilege &c. &c. he added that it would be a pity, we should in the meantime be altogether inactive, therefore, as he expects a parcel of Indian goods out in the Spring it is his wish that (*Lot Man*,) you and myself would come to some arrangement either to purchase the goods and try the S. W. on our own Acct, or take them to Mackinac and give him a certain share of the profits, (as might be agreed upon)

These are the general outlines, from which you can very easily draw your conclusions regarding his views, which I really believe are as friendly toward us all, as his own *dear* interest will permit, for of that you are no doubt aware, he will never lose sight until some kind friend will put his or her fingers over his eyelids.

If something like this plan would meet your ideas, it will give me much pleasure for on your judgement I can entirely rely, knowing you are perfectly

Edwards.⁸³ All these forts were begun in 1816, and their troops were expected to serve as a police force to see that American trade and prohibition laws were executed in the Valley. The government seemed bound to make its power felt and respected by natives and traders alike in this great wilderness, even though fort-building did not reassure the Indians of the government's philanthropic motives.

The new system of regulating private traders at once caused trouble. Although the law forbade granting licenses for the Indian trade to any but United States citizens, it also authorized the President to exercise his discretion in the matter. Owing to the absence of American capital and citizens "to bear the fatigues, and brave the dangers incident" to a prosecution of the fur trade, the President vested Indian Agents with the exclusive right of granting trade licenses to foreigners who should give bond and security and comply with other provisions of the law.⁸⁴ A foreigner of low character who could not then get a license simply employed an American to take it out: the latter received an invoice of the foreigner's goods, engaged the foreigner as

conversant in every branch of that business, and there is no mortal living, I would prefer being concerned with, of this I have no doubt you are perfectly convinced — On your arrival at New York have the goodness to come to Brooklyn before you wait on the old man as I would *much like* to have the first *confab* with you — Fat McKenzie is here for the third time since his arrival in the white man's country, he pesters the old Tyger's soul out to employ him again, but he dislikes him very much, sometimes says that if he enters into the business upon the meditated large scale that he should like to give him a situation in some retired corner where he could do no mischief &c. &c.

I am glad that he did not propose him as one of our party as I think it would break up the concern — Keep these affairs to yourself and hasten to meet your sincere friend

ROBERT STUART.

This letter is to be found in Ramsay Crooks's *Letter Book* at the John Jacob Astor Hotel on Mackinac Island. Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit kindly lent the writer a transcript of this letter book. See pp. 146-148.

⁸³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 386, 387, and Vol. XX, p. 228.

⁸⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 405, 406.

interpreter or boatman, and when they were past the Indian agencies, the foreigner assumed control of his property and carried on his business as usual.

Such men in the Indian country also came as the agents of the American Fur Company which early in 1817 commenced a vigorous commercial campaign from Mackinac. Goods arrived there from Montreal and from New York via the Great Lakes⁸⁵ and were traded for furs by the agents and their employees. The latter were mostly French-Canadians whom John Jacob Astor found without work as the result of American restrictions and hired in the interests of his business, because they were patient, docile, and persevering, and therefore indispensable to the success of the enterprise.⁸⁶ The Secretary of War gave orders that every facility consistent with the laws be afforded to Astor and his agents. Governor Cass instructed the Indian Agent at Mackinac to license all persons designated by the Scotchman, Ramsay Crooks, Superintendent of the American Fur Company.⁸⁷

Licenses to trade were issued by the Indian Agent at Mackinac to the surprise and indignation of Americans at Prairie du Chien, because "the blackest characters" were permitted to enter the American Indian country upon the

⁸⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 103, 107, 108; and Vol. XIX, pp. 427, 428; and Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, pp. 311, 312.

⁸⁶ *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XVIII, p. 645. For a complaint against Astor see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. VII, pp. 275, 276.

Ramsay Crooks wrote the following letter to Astor as early as April 17, 1814:

"In the event of Peace or the conquest of the upper Country putting us in possession of the trade of Mackinac, we will for at least the first year, be compelled to content ourselves with the boatmen already engaged in the trade and what few can be had in the Detroit Strait to carry on the business East of the Mississippi, and on that River above the Prairie du Chien: and for that portion comprising the Saaks, the Winnebagoes of Rock River and the Missouri Tribes, I am almost certain a sufficient number are to be found in and about St. Louis." — Page 60 of Mr. Burton's transcript of Ramsay Crooks's *Letter Book*.

⁸⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 458, 461.

payment of varying amounts of money for their licenses. And the factor at Fort Crawford uttered complaints against the swarm of private traders then exploiting the Indian population on every hand. Furthermore, the Sacs and Foxes in 1817 resorted to the English at Drummond Island and returned home well supplied with arms and ammunition after declaring "their determination to prevent American Traders from going among them the ensuing Winter". Sometime in the summer of that year the factor at Fort Crawford sent his assistant, Robert B. Belt, to Fort Edwards to sell factory goods to the Indians.⁸⁸

With the soldiers who landed upon Rock Island in May, 1816, to erect Fort Armstrong, there had come a native of Lincolnshire, England, a man who was destined to exert a tremendous influence upon the Indians of the neighborhood. George Davenport, at first content to furnish the troops provisions, in 1817 built a double log-cabin and store-house a half mile from the fort, purchased a small stock of goods, and thus set up as an Indian trader. Despite reported dangers he first went to the hostile Winnebagoes then dwelling upon the Rock River and his name "Englishman" spelt profitable results. So much did his trade increase in this region that he established and maintained posts on the Rock River for many years. Davenport at first obtained his merchandise from Mackinac, perhaps from Astor's company, by the usual Fox-Wisconsin water route. Once he sent an order for an assortment of Indian goods, camping equipage, four employees, and a Mackinaw boat — all were delivered to him at Rock Island. The employees were Canadians hired for three years at \$125 per year.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 452, 459, 460, 464, 473, 481; and Vol. XX, p. 58.

⁸⁹ Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, pp. 152, 153.

Coming to America, Davenport enlisted in the army and came west after ten years' service. His house was on Rock Island, and he was well known to the

In the autumn of 1817 two trading boats of the American Fur Company arrived at Prairie du Chien from Mackinac bound for the autumn's trade with Indians upon the Des Moines River. The masters, Russell Farnham and Daniel Darling, had obtained licenses at Mackinac, but what was their dismay to be ordered by Lieutenant Colonel Chambers of Fort Crawford not to do business or even converse with Indians until they had procured new licenses from Governor Clark of Missouri Territory. When these traders and their Canadian crews, including "two celebrated characters E. Lagotherie and St. John", described as "hardened Raschels", declared they would open their cargoes below Fort Armstrong,⁹⁰ they were sent to Governor Clark under military escort, reaching St. Louis in October. It is believed that this persecution was incited by the jealousy which St. Louis traders felt for those from Mackinac.⁹¹

The American Fur Company did not timidly submit: on the contrary John Jacob Astor and others brought suit against the three military officers who had caused the arrest and transportation of these trusted servants.⁹² Ramsay Crooks of Mackinac exclaimed against this unparalleled, premeditated, and malicious interference with the liberty of American citizens when British subjects acting through American traders were continually licensed to do business upon American soil without let or hindrance. The upshot of the whole matter was that Astor made his strong arm felt at Washington, D. C. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, soon issued instructions to the effect that Astor's

Indians and early settlers of that region. In 1835 he laid out the Iowa city that bears his name, and ten years later he was robbed and murdered by a gang of desperadoes at his Rock Island home. Davenport's house on Rock Island is still standing, having been restored not many years ago and put into condition for permanent preservation.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 357.

⁹⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, pp. 477-479, 483.

⁹¹ Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, pp. 312-315.

⁹² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 389.

traders licensed in one part of the United States should receive proper respect and protection everywhere. Nor was this all: the courts at the end of four years of litigation awarded Astor and his colleagues \$5000 in damages, thanks to the able efforts of Thomas Hart Benton, who in 1821 became the first United States Senator from Missouri.⁹³

From the fact that the American Fur Company recovered damages at law, it is fair to assume that Farnham and Darling did not do business in the Iowa country in the autumn of 1817. The next year, however, Farnham reached the Sac and Fox Indians by the route of the Missouri and Grand Rivers. Ramsay Crooks expressed regret that he should have done so instead of by way of the Des Moines; for, said he, "although no agreement exists between us and Messrs. Cabanne & Company [a St. Louis firm], to prevent our going into that river or they into the Mississippi, still, as Mr. Astor supplies their goods, they partly calculated on our not opposing them."⁹⁴ Henceforth, Farnham was Astor's chief agent for the collection of furs and peltries in the Iowa wilderness.

For some time private British traders operating from Prairie du Chien had been the government factor's chief cause of complaint: they reduced the amount of trade at the factory by trading rum for furs, by selling better goods on credit, and by reason of their marriage to Indian wives.⁹⁵ Accordingly, the President of the United States determined to stop their practices: early in 1818 he issued orders that Indian Agents should grant no licenses to foreigners or to American citizens who were in the habit of taking foreign employees with them or sending such *engagés* into the

⁹³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 478, and Vol. XX, pp. 23, 24, 29, 103; and Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, p. 313.

⁹⁴ Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, p. 318.

⁹⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 13, 56; and *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 79.

Indian country with trading outfits. The American Fur Company also complained of the difficulties in its path: the introduction of liquor among the Indian tribes by private traders, the undue interference of government officials with its trusted servants, and the competition of government factories which now sent agents with goods to the hunting camps of the Indians. Ramsay Crooks of Mackinac complimented Astor on his repeated efforts and sacrifices "to further the government's Indian policy," but he declared that since the erection of government factories had resulted in driving Canadian or foreign traders out of the country as originally intended, they were no longer necessary. Crooks therefore suggested that unless the factories were abolished at once or their methods changed Astor had better quit the fur business altogether.⁹⁶

Along with the recommendation of additional factories early in 1818 was a proposal to rebuild the Fort Madison establishment, so firmly convinced of its usefulness was the Superintendent of the Indian Trade, Thomas L. McKenney. But on account of the increasing conflict "amongst the Private traders, and against the Government Agencies", the spread of the factory system was doomed to constant and effective opposition. So active, so numerous, and so powerful were the British traders who were then in business either for themselves or as agents of the American Fur Company that the Indians visited by them never had furs enough left to trade at the Prairie du Chien factory. Accordingly, McKenney defended Johnson's practice of dispatching honest Americans from Prairie du Chien to sell outfits of factory goods to the Indians at factory prices.

⁹⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 16, 21, 22, 23, 27, 28, 31, 43. Despite Crooks's pessimistic prophecy, the American Fur Company sent out two hundred and forty employees from Mackinac for the trade year 1818-1819. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XI, p. 370; and Vol. XII, pp. 154-169.

Thus, Robert B. Belt practically set up a branch of the Prairie du Chien factory at Fort Edwards and made factory goods accessible to the Sacs and Foxes and Ioways and others who had been accustomed to hunt along the Des Moines River in the Iowa wilderness. So prosperous was the business carried on there in 1818 that a separate factory establishment was made at that place and retained until the factory system was abolished in 1822.⁹⁷

The Sacs and Foxes, who were entitled by the treaty of 1804 to a trading establishment, won compliance with their request that factory goods be brought to their village at the lead mines. Michael Brisbois obtained merchandise at the factory and traded for the government at the lead mines during the years 1818, 1819, and 1820. And this departure from the government's old plan of confining its trade to one place was highly desirable because private traders had been supplying the Indians with liquor: "as many as five thousand pounds of Lead are known to have been secured from the Sac and Fox Indians, in one interview, by those who use this article as a means of traffic, without the Indians receiving for their toils a solitary *remuneration beside*." An increase in factory business resulted from this sort of peddling to the corresponding failure of the plans of such adventurers as Joseph Rolette and other men who had participated in the late war against the Americans.⁹⁸

But St. Louis merchants and John Jacob Astor were by no means idle: they gained the ear of Congress in April, 1818, when a House resolution directed John C. Calhoun to report a system providing for the abolition of factories and the opening of the Indian trade to individuals under suit-

⁹⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 40, 64, 101, 102; and *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 360, 371.

⁹⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 63, 64, 71; and *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 329, 330, 332, 333, 360, where may be found Brisbois's invoices of goods sold.

able regulations. Superintendent McKenney warned Calhoun that the desire of Congress to open the Indian trade to American citizens would most certainly end in a vast monopoly of the Indian trade in the hands of the American Fur Company. Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, advocated the abolition of the government system because American capital now really controlled the trade and because the government was obnoxious and contemptible in the eyes of the Indians for engaging in trade which to them always stood for but one thing — lucre. This fact was pointed out by Ramsay Crooks in a letter to Mr. Astor, as early as December, 1813, as follows:

If the success of your application to import, depends in the least on the Indians Supplicating the Government for supplies, I must acknowledge my apprehensions of the result for unfortunately these savages entertain ideas bordering on conviction that their Father is like any other Trader who will find it his interest to furnish them with Merchandise as heretofore by the factories.— an illusion which will never lose the force of a reality, until the United States totally abandon that species of monopoly, and I trust that before long the gentlemen who vote appropriations to carry on a traffic of no real benefit to our tawny neighbors, and bemeaning to the Government, will discover how fallacious were their expectations when by such Establishments they promised themselves the Philanthropic satisfaction of Meliorating the condition of the Indians and attaching them unalterably to the United States, Since it is a fact notorious to all the world that those very Tribes who experienced in the greatest degree this fostering Care of the Executive were the first to raise the Tomahawk against the American Settlements.⁹⁹

THE ABOLITION OF THE FACTORY SYSTEM

During the summer months of 1818 hostilities commenced between the Sioux and the Sacs and Foxes. In July and August the allied tribes went on the warpath, killed forty Sioux of "the River de moins", and brought about thirty

⁹⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 66, 74, 75, 83, 85. See also page 27 of Mr. Burton's transcript of Ramsay Crooks's *Letter Book*.

women and children as prisoners to Prairie du Chien. The Sioux had great difficulty in getting their relatives back. These sallies into one another's country were destined to continue intermittently for at least a dozen years, and traders soon discovered that their business suffered. They perceived the advantage of keeping peace among the tribes: war parties meant poor hunts and economic waste. Traders accordingly made every effort to obtain a voice in the Indian councils of war.¹⁰⁰

Some time during the year 1818 George Davenport abandoned his position as purveyor to the garrison on Rock Island and turned all his attention to the Indian trade. The commandant at Fort Armstrong permitted him to erect a log cabin. Davenport procured a stock of goods at St. Louis and brought them home in a keel-boat. Having traded mainly with the Winnebagoes, he now began to compete with American Fur Company agents for the trade of the Sacs and Foxes. During the winter he traversed the Iowa prairies, visited the hunting camps, and got his pick of the furs. For many years, in the spring, "he would have all his furs and skins nicely packed and prepared — feathers all sacked, bees-wax and deers tallow all barreled — then would load his boat, and go to St. Louis, and sell his cargo, which always commanded the highest market price, owing to the good condition in which everything was put up." He often brought goods to the Sacs and Foxes who worked the Galena River and Dubuque mines, obtaining from them very valuable quantities of lead in return.¹⁰¹

Private traders gradually tightened their hold upon the commerce of the upper country. Bent upon supplying either the goods or the peddlers for this trade, the American Fur Company kept its fingers upon the pulse of Congress

¹⁰⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 92.

¹⁰¹ Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, pp. 154, 155.

and informed its champion at Washington of all facts which might aid in the fight against the factory system. A new license law up for discussion in Congress early in 1820 so outraged Ramsay Crooks that he wrote at once to a friend at the capital city urging him to spare no efforts on the company's behalf. Powerful interests were at work all during the three sessions of Congress in 1820, 1821, and 1822: the factory system was on trial and was getting more and more entangled in the meshes laid by the American Fur Company. In 1820 Secretary of War John C. Calhoun sent Rev. Jedediah Morse to make a tour in the West and report on trade conditions among the tribes. This philanthropist obtained his information of the Iowa country through Major Marston of Fort Armstrong: government goods were declared to be of such bad quality that the Sacs and Foxes believed their "Great Father" had sent them out as presents and, therefore, that the factors were trying to cheat them by trading articles never intended for sale.¹⁰²

Five thousand Sacs and Foxes were said to be dwelling upon the banks of the Mississippi at this time: two Sac villages at the mouths of the Rock and the Des Moines rivers in Illinois, and three Fox villages in the Iowa country. Thirty-five lodges of Foxes stood opposite Fort Armstrong, twenty lodges at Dubuque's lead mines, and ten near the mouth of the Wapsipinicon River. During the trade year of 1819-1820 they had five traders who employed nine clerks and interpreters with annual salaries ranging from \$200 to \$1200, and forty-three common laborers whose individual wages amounted to from \$100 to \$200 per year. These traders secured from the Indians in the very shadow of the walls of the government trading-house at Fort Edwards

¹⁰² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. xvii, 163, 164; and Morse's *Report*, pp. 56, 57. Marston's letter to Morse may also be found in Miss Blair's *The Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, Vol. II, pp. 137-182.

980 packs of all sorts of furs and peltries valued at \$58,800. The tribesmen who did not hunt (their chief game resort was the Iowa country) dug and smelted from four to five hundred thousand pounds of lead per season, and also made mats. The Ioways at that time had villages on the Des Moines and Grand rivers and sometimes visited Fort Osage.¹⁰³

Among the men known to carry on a thriving business with the natives were George Davenport, Dr. Samuel Muir, and Maurice Blondeau. The first had set up several posts for the Indian trade, as stated above.¹⁰⁴ Muir commenced trade somewhat later, with his place of business on an island opposite Dubuque's lead mines, while Blondeau seems to have maintained a trading-house above the mouth of the Des Moines River during practically all of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Whether any of these traders received his goods for the traffic from the American Fur Company is uncertain, but during the two years 1821 and 1822 Russell Farnham appeared in this region as the company's agent, while Joseph La Perche St. Jean came to sell the company's goods at his own risk one year and as agent the next. At the same time Joseph Rolette served as Astor's representative on the Upper Mississippi. For many years he had pursued the trade as an independent and had attained such success and influence with the Indians and frontiersmen that he came to be called "King Rolette". Astor, therefore, induced him to become a member of the American Fur Company.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰³ Morse's *Report*, pp. 124, 125, 126, 127, 204, 363.

There is a persistent statement in early accounts of Iowa history that the Ioway Indians, defeated by the Sacs and Foxes in 1821 or 1823, removed to the southwestern Iowa country. The truth seems to be that these nomadic Ioways had hunting camps and villages at several places and traded with men whose posts stood in the present northwestern corner of Missouri.

¹⁰⁴ See above, pp. 524, 530.

¹⁰⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. V, p. 237; Vol. IX, p. 466; and Vol.

Morse's report on the Indian trade was adverse to the government. Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs and Astor's attorney in a damage suit then pending, at once made prodigious efforts to wipe out the last vestiges of the factory system: he sent queries to many influential men of experience in Indian affairs. Benjamin O'Fallon, writing from a fifteen years' acquaintance with factory operations at Fort Madison and Fort Crawford, declared that the government's goods were inferior to those of private traders and poorly adapted to the Indian trade. Astonishing as it may seem, Benton had the audacity to bolster up his attack on the government system with information obtained from Ramsay Crooks of Mackinac, John Jacob Astor's right hand man in the West. Crooks ridiculed the quality of blankets and dry goods sold by government factors who were called "D——d Yankee pedlars", and remarked: "While England's King, by unanimous consent, received from the Indians the appellation of Father, the President of the United States was degraded to the level of a common adventurer." Crooks could see no benefits, either material or moral, in the system, declaring:¹⁰⁶

The foregoing facts and observations attest most fully the positive inefficiency of the system in conciliating the Indians; for, at Fort Wayne, Chicago and Fort Madison, previous to the war, public trade was in full operation, and flourished, I believe, beyond any thing we have seen in these latter days; and yet, so far from 'reclaiming them from savage habits,' they did not in a single instance, during the whole contest, avert the dreadful effects of an irruption into our defenceless frontier; nor did they even disarm the savage of one particle of his natural ferocity.

XI, pp. 371, 372, 376. In Vol. XI, pp. 377-379, is given a list of goods for the Indian trade. American Fur Company records for these early years are very largely destroyed. Ramsay Crooks's *Letter Book* for the years 1816-1825 is to be found in the John Jacob Astor Hotel on Mackinac Island.

¹⁰⁶ *American State Papers, Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 328, 329, 331.

Cheered by Morse's adverse report, encouraged by the support of prominent men in the West, and championed by Benton in the Senate, the American Fur Company effected the collapse of the government system: an act of Congress called for its entire abolition on June 3rd, 1822. Thus square dealing by the government was to be replaced by the private trader's rapacious system of exploitation by means of credit and whisky.¹⁰⁷ The latter was to be subject, however, to the provisions of a new law also passed at this time. Henceforth all persons who wished to engage in traffic with the natives were under the necessity of giving bonds and applying to an authorized Indian Agent of the government for licenses. Indian Agents were at once informed of the new regulations and were asked to report all licenses granted before the 1st of September of each year.¹⁰⁸

Among the three tribes of Indians who were still entitled to public trading-houses by virtue of treaty provisions were the Sacs and Foxes. In compliance with an order of the War Department, Thomas Forsyth, Indian Agent at Fort Armstrong, summoned the tribal chiefs and warriors to a council upon Rock Island and on the 3rd of September, 1822, effected an arrangement whereby they agreed (in the presence of George Davenport, Samuel Muir, and John Connolly as witnesses) for the sum of \$1000 worth of

¹⁰⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. xv, xvii, 228, 256. Thomas Forsyth, Sac and Fox Indian Agent at Fort Armstrong from 1819 to 1830, complained about the sale of whisky to the Indians and called upon the commandants of the forts to be vigilant and active in stamping out the evil.

¹⁰⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 263, 289.

For the Upper Mississippi Valley two superintendents, Lewis Cass, Governor of Michigan Territory, and William Clark, Governor of the State of Missouri, might grant licenses to trade, as could also the agents under them, upon the rivers Missouri and Mississippi. General Clark soon complained that he wished to get notice of every license granted by the agents of the other superintendency. Secretary of War Calhoun in October, 1822, ordered Cass to keep Clark informed of all licenses granted. Canadian boatmen and interpreters were still allowed to work for American traders.

merchandise to release the government from its treaty obligation. The government stores at forts Edwards and Crawford were closed up and in the future the Indians were to depend upon private traders for their merchandise. It must be remembered that the American Fur Company had not yet generally sent agents with goods into the Indian country at the company's own risk: it merely outfitted private traders on their own account, "charging them the highest market price for goods, and taking over their furs at rates that made due allowance for possible declining values."¹⁰⁹

In the spring of 1822 the American Fur Company established its western department at St. Louis to push forward the Missouri River trade with a vengeance. The commerce with tribes on that vast stream had been largely in the hands of Berthold, Chouteau and Company. Astor had refrained from competing with them because he had supplied them with goods for the trade, but when the rising firm of David Stone and Company threatened to drive Astor's customers and Mississippi outposts out of business, the American Fur Company at once set up a branch office and store at St. Louis. For the first year Ramsay Crooks proposed merely "to supply our lower Mississippi and Illinois river outfits from St. Louis, and tamper with the Missouri traders on a moderate scale, in order to secure them for the following year."¹¹⁰

Astor's enterprise under the control of his faithful lieutenants Ramsay Crooks at Mackinac and Samuel Abbott at St. Louis now made itself felt among all the independent traders of the West. Having pushed government factories to the wall, Astor now proceeded to grind smaller competitors out of existence, and gradually the infant industry of John Jacob Astor grew into the first American monopoly:

¹⁰⁹ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 202, 203; and *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. xviii, 257.

¹¹⁰ Chittenden's *American Fur Trade*, Vol. I, pp. 317-320.

small dealers were soon forced to enlist under its banners, though many unscrupulous ones continued to keep their heads above water.¹¹¹

One government record of licenses granted in 1822 shows that several men traded with the Indian tribes of the Upper Mississippi: Dennis Robinson, Hasen Moore, Augustin Rock, Edward Pesanne, J. B. Moirand, and Joseph Laframboise. They must have confined operations to the country north of Prairie du Chien, for during this same trade year of 1822-1823 Russell Farnham, Maurice Blondeau, Joshua Palen, Francis Laboussiere, John St. Hogel, and Joseph Laparche bought furs upon the Mississippi's "tributary waters below Prairie du Chien." John Campbell, Joshua Palen, and Maurice Blondeau traded at the Ioway, Sac, and Fox towns upon the Mississippi and Des Moines rivers, and William Donney held a two-year license to trade with the same tribes at Fort Armstrong. These Indians seem to have hunted as far west as the Missouri River region where they traded with Vance M. Campbell and Chouteau, Berthold and Pratt. Other important traders with these natives were Samuel C. Muir, George Davenport, and Francis Yostie, while Amos Farrar catered to the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes. Etienne Dubois supplied the Foxes, no doubt at the village in the old Dubuque lead district.

Of the traders named above Maurice Blondeau and Russell Farnham were doubtless working for the Astor corporation. George Davenport, it is said, maintained trading-houses at the Flint Hills and the mouths of the Iowa, Wapsipinicon, and Maquoketa rivers, as well as three posts on the Rock River and another in charge of Amos Farrar on the Galena River in Illinois. To attend to all these stores and keep them supplied with goods Davenport was com-

¹¹¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 278.

pelled to travel from one to the other, "sometimes on foot, sometimes in a canoe, and sometimes on horse-back." At his principal depot on Rock Island he collected all furs and peltries and made up outfits of merchandise to be sent to different parts of the Indian country.¹¹²

Nicolas Boilvin, Indian Agent at Fort Crawford, on July 18, 1822, wrote to Lewis Cass with regard to preventing the Indians from visiting the English at Malden, Drummond Island, or other Canadian settlements for their annual presents of goods. He reported that he had assembled them in council and explained to them the displeasure of their Great Father, the President. He also sent word to all the Sacs and Foxes "from the River aux Moines to the Sioux Nation as high as possible"; and he believed that since the savages were continually at war with one another, they would not go to British traders at Malden, except "May be a few Socks, Foxes, ossages, ayoways."¹¹³

Whisky continued to find its way to the Indians, not through traders so much as through persons who did not take out licenses for the trade at all. The former were prohibited by law from introducing liquor into the Indian country, but unlicensed persons were not affected by the letter of the law and accordingly escaped its operation. In November, 1822, Lieutenant Colonel Morgan, commandant at Fort Crawford, reported that he had caused the boats of all traders who passed his post to be searched to prevent ardent spirits from being carried to the Indians. He recommended that the best places for carrying the law into effect were Green Bay and Fort Armstrong, where the Indian traders

¹¹² For the materials contained in these two paragraphs the writer is indebted to the Library of Congress which kindly furnished *House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 18th Congress, No. 7, pp. 2, 3, 6. See also Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, pp. 156, 157.

¹¹³ These visits to the British seem to have continued from the close of the War of 1812 until after the Black Hawk War of 1832. *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 248, 249, 266, 267.

first entered the Indian country. But he noted "the melancholy truth, that no law or regulation, will be sufficient to prevent the Indians residing immediately on our borders, from obtaining ardent spirits in any quantities they may desire". He said he did not feel authorized to check the liquor traffic at the lead mines on the Galena River to which the Sacs and Foxes were resorting.¹¹⁴

In January, 1823, Nicolas Boilvin wrote: "Peace and Harmony now exists with the Indians, altho' large war parties are on Contemplation between the Sacs and Foxes on one part and the Siouxs' of the plains on the other part for Next Spring. Unless the Government thinks proper to interfere, I am afraid it will be severe for those poor ignorant Savages — and no doubt some other tribes will be the Theatre of warfare and no doubt that Commerce will be injured and Some poor innocent people the victim". He would obviate the evil as much as possible, but money was needed to that end. "It even requires in Speaking to the Indians Tobacco, Powder etc and a few Blankets to Convey any weight with advice given them."¹¹⁵

J. H. Lockwood appears to have been one of the traders doing business upon the Mississippi in 1823, though he was not licensed by the government. In April he wrote that his outfit among the Foxes had done well and that he expected to make a few packs at Prairie du Chien. He feared there might be something in the rumor that the American Fur Company would beat him to a good many packs in the Mississippi country. Government agents granted year licenses to Jean B. Caron for trade with the Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and Ioways, and to Russell Farnham and Charles Fabvre for trade with the Sacs, Foxes, and Ioways. George Davenport was licensed to do business with the Sacs, Foxes, and Winnebagoes, while Antoine Brisbois received permis-

¹¹⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 291, 295, 296.

¹¹⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 284, 298, 299.

sion to trade upon the "Rivière au Pomme", which is no doubt the old French name for the Wapsipinicon River. In the months of January and March, 1824, licenses were issued to B. Vasquez and St. Armant to trade at the Sac and Fox hunting grounds, while Joseph Dechamp and Edward Ploudre were to operate upon the "Raccoon River".¹¹⁶

Astor's enterprise upon the Missouri and the Mississippi with St. Louis as a base of operations was now beginning to assume vast proportions. St. Louis with its 7000 people was the metropolis of the Middle West: its location near the junction of the largest waterways of North America made it an important transportation and trade center. From here was distributed merchandise for the traders north and west in exchange for furs and peltries, and from here provisions were sent to all the government forts and all settlements in the Valley, while the world's products were imported by way of New Orleans or the Ohio River. Steamboats were already plying the Missouri and the Mississippi as far north as the Des Moines rapids, where obstructions prevented all but keel-boats and lighter craft from ascending.¹¹⁷

For some years goods had been conveyed beyond the rapids of the Mississippi in small watercraft, but the spring of 1823 marks a revolution in river traffic: the steamboat "Virginia" made a journey in high water as far north as Fort St. Anthony (Snelling) and supplied the post with provisions.¹¹⁸

An eminent foreigner, J. C. Beltrami, recorded his impressions of the Indian trade. At Fort Edwards he found

¹¹⁶ *House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 18th Congress, No. 7, p. 5; and *House Executive Documents*, 2nd Session, 18th Congress, No. 54, p. 3. See also *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 302, 303.

¹¹⁷ Beltrami's *Pilgrimages*, Vol. II, p. 121.

¹¹⁸ George Davenport was called upon to pilot this boat over the Upper or Rock Rapids, then a matter of three or four days' work. See Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, p. 157.

a temporary encampment of Sac Indians bartering with traders of "the South-west Company." This would suggest that the new name of Astor's company was kept in the dark, perhaps for advertising purposes. In the Iowa country Beltrami noted no other traces of civilization than a few scattered huts belonging perhaps to men then trading on the present sites of Keokuk and Montrose opposite the rapids and below the ruins of Fort Madison.

Beltrami asserted that the American Fur Company then almost monopolized the commerce of the West. The Foxes at Dubuque's old lead mines smelted and traded lead for the goods of the traders. Prairie du Chien was then a considerable entrepôt, situated as it was upon the principal trade route between the Upper Mississippi country and Canada and New York. At this frontier village the tourist received many civilities from Joseph Rolette, one of the principals of the American Fur Company, and later from other agents at Fort Snelling.¹¹⁹

LICENSED TRADERS AND THEIR POSTS IN THE IOWA COUNTRY AFTER 1824

War between the Sioux and the Sacs and Foxes no doubt decreased Astor's profits from the fur trade at this time. Then in May, 1824, on top of the bad condition of the fur market, came a blow in the shape of adverse legislation by Congress: henceforth it became "the duty of Indian agents to designate, from time to time, certain convenient and suitable places for carrying on trade with the different Indian tribes, and to require all traders to trade at the places thus designated, and at no other place or places." The new law required traders to cease sending out "runners to secure credits and follow the hunters to their places of chase".¹²⁰

After their return from a visit to their Great Father at

¹¹⁹ Beltrami's *Pilgrimages*, Vol. II, pp. 150, 151, 170, 174.

¹²⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. xix, 337-340.

Washington, D. C., where differences with the government were satisfactorily patched up,¹²¹ the principal Sac and Fox chiefs frequently visited Thomas Forsyth, Indian Agent at Fort Armstrong. On the 27th of September they called on him again and complained because "they understood that their Traders are not to be allowed to go into the Interior of their country to receive their pay in Skins for Credits given them in goods by the Traders in the fall of the year". The Sacs and Foxes had been long accustomed to receive goods on credit from traders every autumn before they started out on their hunts, and so they now declared that without credit "they cannot hunt to maintain their wives and Children, that the Game is now far distant from the Mississippi and it is impossible for them to travel a distance of from one to Two or Three hundred miles for a little Gunpowder or any other articles they might want and more particularly in the winter season while the Snow is on the ground, or in the months of February and March when they ought to be hunting Bear, Beaver and Otters."

They complained that they had "not a Sufficiency of horses to carry all their families and baggages into the Country they mean to hunt". "How then can it be expected", they asked, "that we can bring out of the Interior of the Country in the Spring of the year all our packs of Skins, Tallow and Jerked meat"? The latter articles, with corn, comprised their food during the summer season, and without them, they said, their "old people in particular must Starve and should our Traders refuse us Credits, what then is to become of us"?

Sac and Fox chiefs, therefore, asked Forsyth to write to the President and request him to allow traders to visit their hunting camps to bring goods and receive payments.

¹²¹ At this time the government set aside for the Sac and Fox half-breeds a large tract of land in what is now Lee County, Iowa.

Forsyth accordingly placed the matter before John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, declaring that "if ever the Traders refuse to give the Sauk and Fox Indians credit of arms, amunition, axes, Traps and some Blankets and strouds, the Indians must litterally starve, as they cannot commence their hunt & support their families without a Credit from the Traders every fall."¹²²

Between June 5 and October 11, 1824, Thomas Forsyth granted licenses to several traders, among them Russell Farnham¹²³ at the Flint Hills, now perhaps the site of Burlington; Maurice Blondeau¹²⁴ "at the Dirt lodge high up the River de Moine"; David G. Bates and Amos Farrar at the Galena River in northern Illinois; and George Davenport at "Rocky Island". All were licensed to trade with Sacs and Foxes. Forsyth also reported that "the distance from the Raccoon Fork of River de Moine to the Flint hills is great, and too far for an Indian to leave his hunt to travel for any small article he may want for the use of his family,

¹²² *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 353, 354.

¹²³ Russell Farnham was a New Englander who joined the overland Astorian expedition headed by Wilson Hunt in 1811, and went out as a clerk on the 'Tonquin'. In Oregon, he had numerous adventures, being in the Indian fight at the Dalles; assisting in building a post near Spokane; and wintering (1812-1813) among the Flatheads. After the sale of Astoria, Farnham left with Hunt on the 'Pedlar', landed on the coast of Kamchatka, and made his way overland to Hamburg, whence he sailed for New York. Reëntering Astor's employ, he made one of his first trips to the West in 1817 in the interest of the American Fur Company. He afterwards carried their trade into the Missouri Valley, and among the Sacs and Foxes, by whom he was awarded a payment in the treaty of 1832. He died of cholera at St. Louis, in October of that year.—*Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XIX, p. 477.

¹²⁴ The Blondeau family first settled at Mackinac, and about 1798 many members migrated to Missouri where they received Spanish land grants. Maurice appears to have been a nephew of Barthelemi, the most noted trader of the family. He was a Fox half-breed and traded with the tribe as early as 1801. Other facts concerning his life can be gathered from the present article. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 356.

A man by the name of Blondeau was engaged by the American Fur Company for two years, 1818-1819, at a salary of \$1500. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, pp. 67, 154.

This is the reason I granted a licence to Trade at the Dirt lodge on River de Moine.”¹²⁵

The posts of Bates and Farrar at the lead miners' settlement on the Galena River were the permanent resort of the Fox Indians who still had a village and worked the lead mines on the west side of the Mississippi, and so they undoubtedly disposed of much of their lead ore on the Illinois side. Sac Indians also traded here. On account of his central location, George Davenport on Rock Island traded with several nations: Sacs, Foxes, Winnebagoes, and other tribes, and his summer trade with the natives of the Iowa country was especially large. Russell Farnham at Flint Hills also drew business from the Sacs and Foxes, “as they generally mingle together in their hunting excursions, but as there are more Sauks than Foxes who Trade at the Flint Hills, this place may be considered as a permanent place of Trade for the Sauk Indians.”¹²⁶

Maurice Blondeau's trade at the Dirt Lodge upon the Raccoon River was exactly what the Sacs and Foxes had demanded: this temporary post was near their hunting country and during the hunting season was always accessible. Forsyth pointed out in his report that the traders at Flint Hills and Dirt Lodge carried on business “from the months of September to April only, there being no Traders at those places during the Summer Months.” Very few Indians visited Rock Island during the winter, except to trade a little or “to procure some corn from their Cashes [caches] for their family use.”¹²⁷

The Sioux Indians who occupied northeastern Iowa at this time seem not to have had a trader among them. Nicolas Boilvin, Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien, reported in December, 1824, that no applications had been made to

¹²⁵ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 357, 358.

¹²⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 363, 364, 366.

¹²⁷ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 363-365, 367.

him for licenses to trade. Owing to ill health he was then sojourning at St. Louis: he presumed that Colonel Morgan had granted licenses for trade at three different places which he named, among them a site now occupied by the town of Trempealeau, Wisconsin. He recommended this place in preference to the Sioux village on the Upper Iowa River because other tribes stopped there and Wabasha's band of Sioux could conveniently resort thither for their goods, and because fire-wood was abundant. As late as 1831 a trading-post existed here.¹²⁸

Forsyth, who spent the winter at St. Louis, returned to his agency on Rock Island about the middle of April, 1825. A few days later he reported that very many Sacs and Foxes had not yet arrived at their villages, "particularly the Beaver hunters among whom are some of the principal Chiefs." He declared it "truly lamentable that the white people will continue to sell such quantities of Whisky to Indians. A Sauk Chief told me yesterday that as fast as one cargo of whisky was finished another arrived and when the Indians would be done drinking he said he could not tell."

Forsyth's chief complaint, borne to William Clark at St. Louis by George Davenport (who was probably the person financially interested), was that the Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien had granted a license to Etienne Dubois, a clerk of Joseph Rolette, permitting him to trade with the Indians between Dubuque's mines and Prairie du Chien. Forsyth hoped "that the business of one agent giving Licenses to people to Trade within the agency of another may be remedied." Many persons had applied to him for permits to trade with the Foxes at Dubuque's mines but without avail because the Galena River traders were deemed easily accessible and sufficient for the purpose. Farrar, Davenport's

¹²⁸ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 365; and *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, p. 64.

agent in that locality, must have lost much lead by reason of the competition; hence the importance of preventing it the coming summer.¹²⁹

On May 31, 1825, Forsyth reported to General Clark that there had been no traders at the Dirt Lodge or Flint Hills since the spring trade came to an end, and what little summer trade there might be would center at Rock Island and at the Galena River "with the exception of that part, that may and no doubt will be (in the course of next summer) traded in the Settlements of Illinois and Missouri for whisky." Bates, Davenport, and Farrar were still at their posts, while Farnham and Blondeau were presumed to be at St. Louis, unwilling to seek the summer's deerskin trade of the Indians because it would not justify the expense of collection.¹³⁰

In September, 1825, Forsyth granted a year's license to Etienne Dubois upon the request of the Fox chiefs to be allowed to have a trader "at a little Prairie on an Island which is opposite to the Little Macoketey [Maquoketa] River".¹³¹ About the same time he granted licenses to André St. Amond¹³² and Jean Baptiste Caron to carry on trade at the Dirt Lodge and Flint Hills, and the latter also at the Fever (Galena) River. The Indian Agent at Fort Snelling in the Minnesota country also gave permits to Joseph Montraville and Joseph Laframboise to set up a post at "Fort Confederation, on the Second Forks of the Des Moines River" for trade with the Yankton Sioux. This "fort," probably just a temporary stockade for Indian trade, most likely stood at the junction of the upper

¹²⁹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 374, 375.

¹³⁰ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 378, 379.

¹³¹ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 380. This island is north of Dubuque.

¹³² This man, St. Amond, or St. Amant, had been discharged by Farnham after September, 1818. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XII, p. 168.

branches of the Des Moines in the present Humboldt County where the Yanktons hunted. Nothing more seems to be known of the fort, except that traders frequented the region in later years.¹³³

The treaty of 1825 with the Teton, Yankton, and Yantonies bands of Sioux Indians provided that all trade and intercourse with them should be transacted at such place or places as might be designated and pointed out by the President of the United States, and none but American citizens duly authorized should be admitted to trade. The Yanktons, a very warlike tribe, agreed to extend protection to the persons and property of the traders and the persons legally employed under them, and if any foreigner or other person, not legally authorized, should come into their district or country for trade or other purposes, they would seize and deliver them to a United States superintendent or agent of Indian affairs or to the nearest military post. This treaty was proclaimed to be law in February, 1826, though traders with merchandise had appeared on the ground even sooner.¹³⁴

During the year 1825 Indian traders received what proved to be a form of encouragement from the government: United States commissioners counselled with the chiefs and warriors of the Sioux, the Sacs and Foxes, and the Ioways who had for several years been sending war parties against one another. At Prairie du Chien, in August, a boundary line was established between the hostile tribes in the northern Iowa country with the understanding that neither nation would encroach upon the other's hunting grounds.¹³⁵ With a "perpetual" peace thus effected traders could hope for larger quantities of furs. But later hostilities somewhat blasted their hopes for bigger profits. Then, too, the Win-

¹³³ *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 19th Congress, No. 58, pp. 5, 6.

¹³⁴ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 227-229.

¹³⁵ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 250-255.

nebagoes of Illinois were growing more and more restless and unfriendly toward the whites. Early in 1826 they invaded what is now northeastern Iowa and massacred a half-breed named Francis Methode and his wife and children. The murdered family had pitched their camp upon the Yellow River to make sugar, and upon a failure to return to Prairie du Chien, some army officers with a force of soldiers from Fort Crawford went on a search and found their dead bodies. Twelve Winnebagoes were later jailed for this offence.¹³⁶

Etienne Dubois, Joseph Rolette's agent for the American Fur Company, continued his licensed trade with the Foxes at the Dubuque mines until the autumn of 1828, operating upon the "Little Macquackity" for the year 1829 to 1830. George Davenport who had prosecuted the fur trade for ten years as an independent, refusing to be crushed by his great competitor, at length fell a victim to Astor's pocket-book in the fall of 1826. At that time Mr. Bostwick, a partner in the firm of David Stone and Company which had been "admitted" to the American Fur Company in 1823, came to Rock Island and bought Davenport into the growing monopoly. By the new arrangement Davenport received the management of the company's trade from the mouth of the Iowa River to the Turkey River; Russell Farnham had charge of the Indian country south of the Iowa River with his main depot at Fort Edwards; and Joseph Rolette was appointed to buy up furs north of the Turkey River with a depot at Prairie du Chien.¹³⁷ River traffic at this time was still largely confined to keel-boats, due to the obstructions to steamboat navigation.

Beginning in August, 1826, Farnham traded at the Dirt Lodge in competition, it seems, with Francis Labussierre,

¹³⁶ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. II, pp. 155, 156; and *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 50, 51.

¹³⁷ *Wilkie's Davenport Past and Present*, pp. 158, 159.

at Flint Hills in competition with M. S. Cerre, and at Fort Armstrong until August, 1827. Ramsay Crooks, writing from St. Louis in April, 1827, warned Astor that the season was going to be bad and declared:

Farnham's Indians from whom much was expected this Spring, appear to have been panic-struck by report of war like demonstrations on the part of their northern neighbors the Souix, and have abandoned their fine Beaver Country without attempting to Catch a single animal.— This is the most to be regretted, as the rumors were unfounded, and the season has been uncommonly favorable for a Beaver hunt which would have given us at least 3000 more of the article than we shall have.

On the 30th of April, Crooks wrote a letter from the steamboat "Indiana", seventy-five miles below Prairie du Chien, informing Mr. Astor that though he had seen something more of Farnham's affairs, he could say nothing in favor of his prospects and was "sorry to add that the result of Mr. Rolette's trade is likely to be similar." Crooks later confirmed the poverty of Farnham's business.¹³⁸

After the year 1827 Farnham was succeeded by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., who appears to have served the American Fur Company at these places until November, 1830. Farnham then resumed control, being succeeded by John Forsyth in September, 1831. The latter also had a station on "Little Prairie" opposite the Little Maquoketa River.¹³⁹ After becoming a stockholder in the American Fur Company, George Davenport left his frontier home to visit his birth-

¹³⁸ Mr. Burton's transcript of Ramsay Crooks's *Letter Book*, pp. 271, 276, 298.

¹³⁹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, p. 64. According to this document John Forsyth was the only licensed trader in the Iowa country during the year 1831-1832.

During these years some of the Sacs and Foxes were trading near the mouth of the Nodaway River in Missouri. At this time the allied tribes were estimated to be 6400 strong, only 1000 of them dwelling west of the Mississippi. These figures found in *Senate Documents*, 2nd Session, 20th Congress, No. 21, p. 21, seem to be inaccurate.

place in England after an absence of twenty-three years, returning in May, 1828. During his absence William Downey traded at the island opposite the Maquoketa River and also at the Dirt Lodge. Joseph Laframboise met the hunters of the Yankton Sioux at the second fork of the Des Moines from 1825 to 1827, part of the time in competition with Wright Prescott, resumed his trade here for the years 1829-1831, and took out a license again in 1833 for one year's trade upon "Crooked River near des Moines", while Alexander Faribault was stationed at the upper forks. In the autumn of 1833 licenses were also issued to the American Fur Company employing ten men and Michael Tisson with four men for trade with the Sacs and Foxes at the Dirt Lodge on the Des Moines.¹⁴⁰

INFLUENCE OF CANADIAN TRADERS UPON THE INDIANS OF THE IOWA COUNTRY

General William Clark of St. Louis wrote in December, 1828, that the Sacs and Foxes had been making pilgrim-

¹⁴⁰ For abstracts of licenses granted by the government's Indian Agents see the following:

House Executive Documents, 1st Session, 18th Congress, No. 7.

House Executive Documents, 2nd Session, 18th Congress, No. 54.

House Executive Documents, 2nd Session, 19th Congress, No. 86.

Senate Documents, 2nd Session, 19th Congress, No. 58.

Senate Documents, 1st Session, 20th Congress, No. 96.

House Executive Documents, 2nd Session, 20th Congress, No. 47.

House Executive Documents, 2nd Session, 21st Congress, No. 41.

House Executive Documents, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 121.

House Executive Documents, 2nd Session, 22nd Congress, No. 104.

House Executive Documents, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, No. 45.

Senate Documents, 2nd Session, 23rd Congress, No. 69.

It will be noted that government documents for the years 1822 to 1834 contain no record of licenses issued for the trade years 1828-1829 and 1832-1833. The record shows licenses issued in 1826 to Lyman W. Warren, Daniel Quigley, and Charles H. Oaks for trade on the Yellow River, meaning no doubt the stream of that name in Taylor County, Wisconsin, and not the one in northeastern Iowa.

The tabular statements of government publications show the number of licenses issued each year by the different Indian Agents in the West, the date of issue and length of the license, the amount of bonds given by each trader for

ages¹⁴¹ to Amherstburgh and Drummond Island, Canada, to exchange furs for blankets, shirts, leggings, breech cloth, strouds, ammunition, guns, and other necessities. For a long time, indeed ever since American trade with the Indians began, goods of American manufacture had been notoriously bad and generally unsuited to gain patronage among the natives. British manufactures, before their exclusion by the United States tariff, had always found a ready market in the savage wilderness, so much so that the Indians after 1816 were even willing to make long journeys to Canada to get them. American traders, therefore, used their influence at every opportunity to urge Congress to reduce the import duty on certain articles for the Indian trade.

John Jacob Astor assured Thomas H. Benton, Senator from the State of Missouri, that he had appealed to American manufacturers for blankets comparable to the English article but "without success, there being a want of the kind of wool of which they are manufactured." The same statement applied to strouds and scarlet cloth. Canadians of the Hudson's Bay Company, besides luring our Indians across the border, were said to have excellent facilities for smuggling goods across the northern boundary; but whether they entered the Upper Mississippi Valley is doubtful, for they ran great risk of being captured by American troops at

the faithful and lawful performance of his duty, as well as the amount of capital employed by each trader. See *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, p. 79.

¹⁴¹ During this year some eight or ten tribes, including the Saes, Foxes, Ioways, and Winnebagoes, after informing their English friends that "they are almost consumed by the Big Knives", begged them "to become one with them," and promised to be ready "the moment we hear the sound of their war club, which will be in a very short time, to raise ours at the very same moment and crush the Big Knives."—*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155, 156, 169.

Black Hawk and his band appeared at Drummond Island again in 1829. See Atwater's *Remarks on a Journey*, p. 55.

Fort Snelling (established in 1819). But farther west upon the Upper Missouri British competition diminished the profits of the American Fur Company very considerably. In fact, as late as 1830 Astor stated that the Hudson's Bay Company was declaring a ten percent dividend each year on stock selling at 150 above par while the American Fur Company with a capital investment of over one million dollars had not yet been able to divide one cent: all this was due to the great advantages of trade in Canada. Astor wrote that the United States government in 1809 had promised him protection "and, in fact, more, but I regret to say that hitherto nothing has been done."¹⁴²

THE SALE OF LIQUOR TO THE INDIANS

Whether the tribes with which the above-named American traders were licensed to do business resorted solely to the posts indicated and to none outside of the Iowa country, except for the annual Sac and Fox visits to Canada, can not be stated with certainty at this time. Colonel Snelling stationed upon the St. Peter's River to the north declared that western traders complained not only of a general loss of business but also of many instances where the Indians who had obtained goods of them on credit were seduced by whisky to carry the produce of their winter hunts to others. He went on to say in his letter to the Secretary of War:

This has long been one of the tricks of the trade; the traders who are not generally restrained by any moral rules after they pass the boundary, practice it without scruple whenever opportunities occur, and he who has the most whisky, generally carries off the furs. They are so far from being ashamed of the practice that it affords them subjects for conversation by their winter fires. I have myself

¹⁴² *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, pp. 48, 61, 62; and 2nd Session, 21st Congress, No. 43. The Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company had ended their warlike competition and united in 1821. The latter's posts near the head waters of the Mississippi and farther west operated in what is now American territory as the boundary line was still disputed.

frequently heard them boast of their exploits in that way. The neighbourhood of the trading houses where whisky is sold, presents a disgusting scene of drunkenness, debauchery, and misery, it is the fruitful source of all our difficulties, and of nearly all the murders committed in the Indian country.¹⁴³

Such was the state of things at Prairie du Chien for instance. After an investigation William Clark stated that none of the Indian Agents in his superintendency permitted the importation of liquor into the country. The boats of all traders who passed forts Armstrong and Snelling were diligently searched by the army officers, and those who did get into the Indian country without passing these forts were closely watched by the Indian Agents. But at the same time it was deemed utterly impossible to restrain the Indians residing nearest the settlements in the States of Illinois and Missouri from the use of liquor. They soon became acquainted "with the various little distilleries and Grocery establishments on the frontiers, and with money, furs, peltries, etc." purchased liquor and packed it off to their camps and villages.

Between Fort Armstrong and the settlements of Illinois many whites had settled upon public lands for the express purpose of trading with the Indians. To them no doubt inhabitants of Sac and Fox villages upon both banks of the Mississippi could go for the beverage which seemed to fascinate all Red Men.¹⁴⁴ The same was true of Prairie du Chien, where the civil authorities of Michigan Territory made no apparent attempt to stop the traffic. William Clark, therefore, addressed a circular to every Indian Agent to exercise "the utmost vigilance in detecting and prosecuting, such Traders and others, as may attempt a violation or evasion of the Laws."

In December, 1831, General Clark had learned nothing

¹⁴³ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, p. 383.

¹⁴⁴ *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, Vol. XX, pp. 386, 387.

which threw new light upon the liquor question except rumors and evidence of breach of faith by men engaged in the Indian trade. A general government regulation prohibited the selling, bartering, or giving of spirituous liquors to Indians, but special authority was vested in the Superintendent of Indian Affairs empowering him to grant permits to traders to take into the Indian country, "*whiskey* for the use of the *boatmen*, employed to assist in the trade limiting the quantity to the number of hands employed, and the time they are to be absent; and taking bond that it is not to be sold, bartered, exchanged, or given to the Indians." Relying on their good faith, the government authorities and officers of military posts on the trade routes dispensed with the delicate task of inspecting traders' boats and outfits.¹⁴⁵ But Clark had indisputable evidence that certain traders were diluting alcohol for the Indians by the gallon and keg. He, therefore, recommended the total prohibition of liquor in the Indian country, and concluded by referring to a situation in 1831 which sounds like a commentary upon the rules of evidence enforced in many courts to-day.¹⁴⁶ Not until July 9, 1832, was a statute passed by Congress absolutely prohibiting the introduction of liquor into the Indian country.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph M. Street who succeeded Nicolas Boilvin as Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien upon the latter's death by drowning in 1827 received the following statement of American commerce in the West:

"The fur trade may have been a source of profit to the white trader, but that gain has been connected with the degradation and wretchedness of the Indian. The whiskey authorized by the Department to be taken among them, was, however, a countervailing measure to destroy the advantage which the English trader would otherwise have enjoyed."—*Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, No. 512, p. 606.

¹⁴⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, pp. 6, 7, 24. General Clark declared:

"Should it be asked, why those violators of the law are not prosecuted? I would answer, that the institution of a suit on a trader's bond, with such an object in view, would be considered as a mere *farce*; as past experience fully shows that, in order to a successful prosecution, there are many things to be

FARNHAM AND DAVENPORT, FUR TRADERS

In the month of November, 1831, Messrs. Farnham and Davenport, members of the American Fur Company then engaged in the Iowa wilderness, made answer to inquiries on the subject of the fur trade, declaring that they had transacted business for seven years at the Dirt Lodge, Flint Hills, on or near Rock Island, at posts on the Iowa and Rock rivers, and with the Ioway Indians at Black Snake Hills on the Missouri. They had employed a capital of from \$33,000 to \$60,000 per annum, and paid out to about thirty clerks, traders, and common boatmen nearly \$9000 per year. Articles for trade were brought to the Indian country in steam, keel, or Mackinac boats and by horses, and consisted of the following American goods: horse bells and bridles, butcher knives, traps, tin, iron, and brass kettles, silver wrist bands, wampum, shot, ball, bar lead, powder, salt, rifles, guns, tobacco, and cottons. Moreover, the following articles were imported from England: blue and scarlet strouds, colored blankets, silk handkerchiefs, list cloths, green and scarlet cloths, molton, Indian calico, gartering, ingrain and colored worsted, vermilion, net thread, needles, thimbles, awls, fire steels, and colored thread and ribbons.¹⁴⁷

Farnham and Davenport answered that they sold their proven before a court having cognizance of the offence, which would not occur at the time to the witness testifying. It would prove nothing that he should have witnessed the process of reducing the *alcohol* in the trader's house, and putting it into casks; that he should have seen the liquor drawn from these same casks, put into kegs, and delivered to Indians, who conveyed the same to their camps, which after a few hours, exhibited a scene of the most frightful drunkenness:— he must be able to testify that he has *tasted* this liquor, and found it to be spirituous, in order to produce a conviction. And when it is considered that an individual seeking to qualify himself by these means to produce the conviction of the traders, would at once arouse suspicions which might result in the most serious consequences to himself, the difficulty attending it may be easily imagined."

¹⁴⁷ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, pp. 42, 69, 71, and for a longer list of articles of merchandise sold to the Indians and for prices see pp. 65–68.

goods at various rates of profit as high as fifty percent or even more, most of their sales being on credit in the fall of the year to enable their Sac and Fox customers to hunt and support their families.¹⁴⁸ Credits given to all the Indians with whom they had traded for seven years amounted to \$136,768.62, and of this sum they had collected all but \$53,269.88. This balance in their favor they did not as yet consider desperate because the Indians had promised to pay in cash or the skins of beaver, muskrat, raccoon, deer, and otter, whose value depended on the demand of eastern markets, which in turn depended on foreign markets. Goods were sold to the Indians at the different posts in September: furs and peltries were often collected by the trader's men in the game country, brought to the posts, and in April transported to headquarters. Furs brought down to St. Louis were opened, counted, weighed, and re-packed, and shipped by steamboat to New Orleans and thence via vessel to New York, where they were again unpacked, made up into bales, and sent to the best European markets, except some of the finest (particularly otter skins), which were sent to China.¹⁴⁹

The Sacs and Foxes in 1831 furnished about six hundred hunters upon whom from three to four hundred families depended for the necessities of life: these the traders supplied, though oftentimes in case of plenty the Indians provided the traders with venison, bear, and turkey meat. Farnham and Davenport asserted that furs in the Iowa country were diminishing as game was disappearing. Also they complained that the fur trade labored under the disadvantage of being conducted at the same places from year to year. Hence it was suggested that as the Indians changed

¹⁴⁸ The prices charged the Ioways were higher because they seldom paid more than fifty cents on the dollar and frequently nothing at all.

¹⁴⁹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, pp. 59, 71, 73. Farnham and Davenport had violated the law by following the Indian hunting camps until the Superintendent of Indian Affairs ordered them to desist in the summer of 1831.

their hunting grounds from year to year, the trader should be allowed to follow them, and erect his post wherever the Indians hunted, or as near as possible, not only for his own advantage, but for the convenience of the Indians. In conclusion Farnham and Davenport declared that as the Sacs and Foxes then dwelt west of the Mississippi and whites had made settlements to the east, communication between the races was not only easy but often very detrimental. They added the following observation:

When we first knew them, they were sober and industrious. Now, in consequence of the ease with which they acquire ardent spirits, from their contiguity to the whites, they have, in many instances, become drunken and worthless. We would barely suggest the propriety of removing them into the interior, by purchase of their lands, to such distance as would prevent such frequent communication with the white inhabitants, to whom they part with not only their arms and ammunition, but even their clothing, for strong drink.¹⁵⁰

Thomas Forsyth informed the United States War Department in the fall of 1831 that the fur trade was still monopolized by the American Fur Company which had divided the Indian country into five departments, two of which managed the Indian trade of the Iowa country. Farnham and Davenport had all the Sac and Fox territory as far north as Dubuque's mines, while Joseph Rolette cared for the trade at the mines and farther north. The former obtained their goods from St. Louis (to which place they had come by steamboat from New York) in keel-boats manned by boatmen and clerks; while Rolette got his merchandise at Mackinac whence he forwarded them in Mackinac boats by way of Green Bay and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers to Prairie du Chien. The Sacs and Foxes, he stated, were compelled to take goods at the traders' prices such as \$10 for a blanket,

¹⁵⁰ For the full report of Farnham and Davenport see *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, pp. 55-57, 73.

\$30 for a rifle gun, and \$4 for a pound of powder, all of which actually cost only about \$21, expense of transportation included, thus enabling the traders to gain over one hundred percent profit, especially when they took furs and peltries in exchange. Packmen still did a credit business with the Indians, selling things at very high prices, under the following conditions:¹⁵¹

In the autumn of every year, the trader carefully avoids giving credit to the Indians on any costly articles, such as silver works, wampum, scarlet cloth, fine bridles, &c.; as, also, a few woollens, such as blankets, strouds, &c., unless it be to an Indian whom he knows will pay all his debts. Traders always prefer giving credits on gunpowder, flints, lead, knives, tomahawks, hoes, domestic cottons, &c.; which they do at the rate of 3 or 400 per cent; and, if one fourth of the price of those articles be paid, he is *amply* remunerated.

After all the trade is over in the spring, it is found that some of the Indians have paid all for which they were credited; others, one-half, one-third, one-fourth, and some nothing at all; but, taken altogether, the trader has received, on an average, one half of the whole amount of Indian dollars, for which he gave credit the preceding autumn, and calls it a tolerable business; that is, if the furs bear a good price, the trader loses nothing; but if any fall in the price takes place, he loses money. If he gives to the Indians \$6,000 credit in the autumn, and they pay one half, the balance remains due on the trader's books, which may or may not be afterwards collected.

Those debts have accumulated on the books of Farnham & Davenport to such an extent, that they say the amount due in 1829 from the Winnebagoes, Sacs, and Foxes, was \$40,000, and perhaps this year it is 50 or \$60,000.

The Secretary of War, Lewis Cass, who favored some form of government encouragement of the Indian trade, declared that bad Indian debts and fluctuations in the value of furs rendered the trade very uncertain, but worst of all was the high import duty on British manufactured blankets and

¹⁵¹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, pp. 70-73.

strouds which the Indians preferred to the American product. Cass believed that in consideration of the time, privation, and capital invested the traders deserved all the profits they got or else they would suffer a further decline. He characterized the life as follows:

The whole operation, and, in fact, the general course of the trade itself, is laborious and dangerous, full of exposure and privations, and leading to premature exhaustion and disability. Few of those engaged in it reach an advanced stage of life, and still fewer preserve an unbroken constitution. The labor is excessive, subsistence scanty and precarious; and the Indians are ever liable to sudden and violent paroxysms of passion, in which they spare neither friend nor foe.¹⁵²

THE INFLUENCE OF TRADERS UPON THE INDIANS

The feud which existed between the Sioux and the Sacs and Foxes was not checked in 1825 when the United States persuaded them to establish a permanent boundary line: they continued to attack one another whenever opportunity afforded. The only persons directly affected by these continued hostilities were the traders. The government as such had no cause to worry so long as Indian war parties did not make sallies upon the frontier settlers. But the traders did everything in their power to keep peace and quiet among the tribes, encouraging them, often by means of presents, to hunt. In this way one tribe was kept from going on the war path against another and warriors, otherwise engaged in expeditions, went out to hunt furs; and in this way also traders who had given the Indians quantities of merchandise on credit hoped to collect their heavy debts. War between the tribes of the Iowa country as everywhere else ruined the fur trade, just as hard times or money panics nowadays force business houses to the wall.¹⁵³ It was in the year 1830 that the enmity between the Sioux bands and the

¹⁵² *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, pp. 2, 3, 4, 5.

¹⁵³ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 22nd Congress, No. 90, p. 73.

Sacs and Foxes again burst out, causing an Indian Agent to exclaim :¹⁵⁴

Humanity directs that these people who sport so with each other's lives, should be counselled frequently, and led, if possible, to cherish the more agreeable state of peace and friendship. The great sufferers in general contests of this sort, next to the Indians, are the traders. The hunting parties are broken up by these wars, and there is a corresponding reduction in their returns, and of loss to the companies: for they furnish the Indians, upon credit, with their annual outfits. If they are killed, the traders lose finally; or, if they quit hunting and go to war, payment is delayed.

What rôle the fur traders played in the Indian affairs of the Mississippi Valley, what voice they had in tribal councils no one will ever know, because such facts unfortunately seldom find their way into the records. Nevertheless, historians are generally agreed that traders — French, British, and American in turn — exerted a powerful influence over the native tribes at all times in our history. The Indians were easily led for good or evil. Thus, George Davenport in the Iowa country gained the ascendancy over the minds of the Sacs and Foxes, Black Hawk and his band excepted, and induced them to remove from Illinois in view of the impending conflict with the white settlers.¹⁵⁵ But Davenport, it must be remembered, was always financially interested in these tribes: they were indebted to him and the American Fur Company to the extent of many thousands of dollars. How to collect debts was the problem uppermost in every trader's mind, and many details of what each trader did to get his money must be left to conjecture.

Joseph M. Street, Indian Agent at Prairie du Chien and a man imbued with the highest desire to ameliorate the lot of the savages who had now been in contact with white traders for nearly two centuries, referred to western conditions when he wrote:

¹⁵⁴ *House Executive Documents*, 1st Session, 21st Congress, No. 2, p. 166.

¹⁵⁵ Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, p. 159.

Here, the traders, who, with their agents, are the most immoral, dissipated, and heartless people I know, are freely permitted to go into any part of the Indian country. Their gains arise from the ignorance and vicious and savage habits of the Indians. Let the Indians become civilized, and pursue the lives of civilized persons, and the fur trade is at an end so far as such civilization extends. And I have several times heard the traders here deprecate every attempt to civilize the Indians, because it spoils them as hunters.

And the fur traders *only* intend to *make money*; and whether the Indians live or die by drinking too freely of the whiskey given them is immaterial, if they first pay the rats. This is not a feeling improperly ascribed to them, but avowed by their agent here; not in so many words, but he said, "*civilizing Indians spoiled them as hunters, and that if he did not give whiskey to the Indians others would, and, therefore, he would give whiskey rather than lose the fur.*"¹⁵⁶

When an Indian sub-agent named Warner summoned a deputation of Foxes from Dubuque's mines to patch up their differences in a council with the Winnebagoes at Prairie du Chien in July, 1829, and most of the Foxes were massacred by a party of Sioux or Menominees, General William Clark reported that his hopes of effecting a durable peace had suffered a severe set-back as a consequence of Warner's "over-zeal" and lack of authority. When twelve Sac and Fox chiefs came to confer with him at St. Louis on May 26th and five again early in June, 1830, including Wapello, Keokuk, and Morgan, Clark adverted to the base influence of the American Fur Company's representative or partner, Joseph Rolette, of whom he had heard uniformly bad accounts for many years. This individual he accused of having persuaded Warner to urge the Foxes to settle

¹⁵⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, p. 62.

It has been alleged that American Fur Company agents were present at the signing of all Indian treaties, seeing to it that the government's payments for lands sold by the Indians were in the form of specie annuities which might later flow into the coffers of the company in return for its merchandise. Street wanted to see such money spent on the education of the Indians.—*Annals of Iowa* (Third Series), Vol. III, pp. 601, 602.

their affairs at Prairie du Chien. Clark promised the chiefs he would recall Warner for his unauthorized and indiscreet action, and urged them to attend a general council of all the tribes at Prairie du Chien on the 15th of July, 1830. They replied that he could not "make clean roads" for them; the land had been reddened with the blood of their people, and therefore they were ready to meet their enemies on Rock Island but not at Prairie du Chien.¹⁵⁷

Clark, however, induced all the tribes to attend the great council at Prairie du Chien, and arranged for the establishment of the Neutral Ground, a strip of territory forty miles wide which the government bought from the warring tribes in the northern Iowa country. The traders were, of course, interested in the cessation of war; it may be that they even brought about the purchase of these lands from the Indians; and certainly they were extremely interested in the government's promise to pay all the tribes concerned in the treaty something like \$20,000 a year for ten years. Indeed, there is some reason for believing that not a few of the treaty provisions were directly due to the influence of the Indian merchants present at the council, among whom were George Davenport, Amos Farrar, John Connolly, and H. L. Dousman.¹⁵⁸ Before the treaty General Clark had entertained the plan of buying the Dubuque lead district in Iowa but he abandoned it because the Sacs and Foxes wanted "\$32,000

¹⁵⁷ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, pp. 61, 67, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74.

On June 19th, Clark wrote to Washington, D. C., as follows: "Those Sacs and Foxes have more national character than any tribes we have within this superintendency, and a firm and decisive course is necessary to be pursued with them. . . . I expect to change the tone of those Sacs and Foxes, and have but little doubt of their following me to the treaty."

¹⁵⁸ Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, pp. 306, 310.

Dousman, it is said, came to Prairie du Chien in 1826 as the American Fur Company's confidential agent to take charge of the business. Joseph Rolette was his ostensible superior as he was a partner of the company, but Dousman's commanding talents soon placed him in actual control in this region until 1834. — *Minnesota Historical Collections*, Vol. III, p. 143.

per annum fifty or sixty years, with salt, tobacco, and the payment of about sixty thousand dollars towards the debts due their traders'', Farnham and Davenport.¹⁵⁹

But peace was of short duration: Sac and Fox war parties killed a few Sioux and twenty-five Menominees in the summer of 1831. Certain circumstances convinced Joseph M. Street, Indian agent at Prairie du Chien, that the relations and friends of the Fox chiefs murdered in 1829 had been urged to retaliate by the traders among them. Indeed, a trader had told him at the time of the treaty of 1830 that the Sacs and Foxes wished to sell to the United States "the whole of their country that borders on the Mississippi, but they wont sell unless the commissioners *will pay to Messrs. Farnham and Davenport what the Indians owe them.*" The inference would seem to be that these traders, acting for the American Fur Company, were deliberately producing in the relations between the Sacs and Foxes and their Sioux enemies a crisis which was destined to end first in government interference of some sort and ultimately in financial satisfaction to the American Fur Company.¹⁶⁰

Early in 1832, George Davenport appeared at Washington, D. C., and through the aid of a Congressman he gained the ear of President Jackson. Omitting his own financial interests from the story, he brought the intelligence that the Sac and Fox Indians were willing and ready to sell the old

¹⁵⁹ In Wilkie's *Davenport Past and Present*, p. 159, appears the statement that George Davenport visited Washington, D. C., in 1830 to urge the purchase of what is now eastern Iowa. Certain it is that Davenport made such a journey early in 1832.—*Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, p. 80.

¹⁶⁰ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, p. 517.

Circumstances point strongly to the conclusion that American Fur Company agents had a hand in bringing on the Black Hawk War in the hope that if they could bring Sac and Fox grievances to a head and cause the government to force the Indians into submission, they might be able to collect their debts as well as obtain future gains from new Sac and Fox annuities. The treaty of 1832 which concluded the war proved to be highly satisfactory to Messrs. Farnham and Davenport.

Dubuque lead mines and adjoining country. His information was referred to by President Jackson as coming from "a gentleman of high standing, and having every means of obtaining correct information",¹⁶¹ but even so Congress took no action on the matter. A few months later came the Black Hawk War with its loss of American lives and money. Then in September, 1832, partly to indemnify the United States and partly to make secure the Illinois frontier against future attack, the Sacs and Foxes were forced to cede a strip of country in what is now eastern Iowa. But since a large faction of the Sac and Fox tribes had not engaged in hostilities at all, the government promised to pay the Indians \$20,000 a year in specie for thirty years and to liquidate the debts which they owed their traders, the treaty reading as follows:

The United States, at the earnest request of the said confederated tribes, further agree to pay to Farnham and Davenport, Indian traders at Rock Island, the sum of forty thousand dollars without interest, which sum will be in full satisfaction of the claims of the said traders against the said tribes, and by the latter was, on the tenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, acknowledged to be justly due, for articles of necessity, furnished in the course of the seven preceding years, in an instrument of writing of said date, duly signed by the Chiefs and Headmen of said tribes, and certified by the late Felix St. Vrain, United States' agent, and Antoine Le Claire, United States Interpreter, both for the said tribes.¹⁶²

In this wise did the American Fur Company become a beneficiary of the government's Indian policy: a lump sum was appropriated to cover Sac and Fox debts to the Company after the Senate had ratified the treaty in February, 1833. All together the amount of money which helped to swell the profits of the trader's business represented a tidy figure, for the allied tribes were also entitled to the follow-

¹⁶¹ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, No. 512, p. 221.

¹⁶² Kappler's *Indian Affairs*, Vol. II, p. 254.

ing annuities: by the treaty of 1824, \$1000 a year for ten years; by the treaty of 1830, \$6000 a year for ten years; and by the treaty of 1832, \$20,000 annually for thirty years. All this money, and indeed all such payments the country over, really impoverished the Indians because the traders found it just so much plunder: they were quite as willing to exchange their goods for Uncle Sam's cash as for the skins and furs of wild animals. It is said that when these annuities were paid out, the employees of the American Fur Company reaped rich harvests: men made their fortunes trading with the natives. On these great jubilee occasions when the Indians freely bought blankets, guns, ammunition, and whisky, the traders gathered in all the Indians' money at very high rates of profit.¹⁶³

THE PAYMENT OF SAC AND FOX DEBTS

After the treaty of peace in September, 1832, Marmaduke S. Davenport, the new Indian Agent at Rock Island who had succeeded to the vacancy left by the murder of Felix St. Vrain, contrary to regulations of the War Department paid to George Davenport \$6000 of the Sac and Fox annuities, instead of distributing the money among the families and individuals of those tribes. A letter from Washington in December called upon him to explain such an unwarranted course and to require "Mr. George Davenport, or Messrs. Farnham and Davenport", to replace the specie immediately. If the Indians, after receiving it, should choose to pay it to the traders in satisfaction of debts, that would be their own business, but the Indian Agent was emphatically informed that it was his "duty to investigate all claims or accounts presented against the Indians, to prevent their paying more than fair and reasonable prices for articles which have been furnished them."

Failing to justify his course the Indian Agent received

answer that his "official conduct must in future be governed by instructions from the department, and not by the importunities of your friends. If traders see fit to trust the Indians, they must look to them alone for payment." The annuities were to be distributed to every member of the Sac and Fox tribes, not merely to the chiefs to be paid to traders who might be "in collusion with the chiefs or have them under their influence and management." Elbert Herring, Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, added the assurance that the foregoing observations were not intended to disparage Messrs. Farnham and Davenport.¹⁶⁴

The Indian Agent explained that it had been customary for at least one Indian Agent to engage traders to carry annuity money to the tribes with which they dealt, and that the Sacs and Foxes themselves, far from expecting or wishing to see a dollar of it, were extremely anxious that the money should be brought on to their hunting camps in the interior for the purpose of satisfying Farnham and Davenport who had in former times brought them government annuities. Furthermore, the only possible way for an Indian Agent to show that he had actually paid the annuity was to affix to his voucher the names of some Indians and "get those *interested to certify that the money has been paid over to the Indians.*" Mr. Davenport, therefore, assured the department that he had been actuated by motives which he was "always willing for the world to know," and that the Sacs and Foxes had told him they would "sign cheerfully" any receipt that was necessary when they returned from their hunts in the spring: they could then claim the money which Farnham and Davenport had given back.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. VIII, No. 512, pp. 967, 968; and Vol. IX, No. 512, p. 599. See also p. 673 for an order of April 22, 1833, relative to current speculation in certificates issued to Indians by the government.

¹⁶⁵ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 110, 176.

To end the incident for all time the Indian Agent furnished a full report of a council of Sacs and Foxes held at Rock Island on the first day of June, 1833, for the purpose of paying the annuities. Keokuk, chief of the Sacs, and Poweshiek and Wapello, chiefs of the Foxes, expressed surprise that the arrangement they had made with General Scott in 1832 regarding the annuity had not been carried out — they expected the money had been paid to their trader who had furnished goods to “every man, woman, and child in the nation.” “We waited a long time for our money to come on”, said Keokuk, “that we might pay it to him ourselves; but were forced to go out to hunt for the subsistence of our families before it arrived. We then gave him the paper and told him when the money came to present it to you [Marmaduke S. Davenport], and get the money. We thought then that everything was settled; but now we see the money returned again. We don’t understand what this means. We are surprised to find that everything has to be done over again.” The chiefs emphasized a wish reiterated many times that the government would pay all annuities to them, declaring that the prevailing method of distributing the money to individuals was ruinous in that many of the Sacs and Foxes “would take their money and buy *whiskey*, instead of such articles of necessity as they would otherwise receive.”¹⁶⁶

It appears that Pierre Chouteau, Jr., of St. Louis applied to the Office of Indian Affairs for the \$40,000 which the government had agreed to pay to Farnham and Davenport in satisfaction of years of Sac and Fox debts. Chouteau received answer that the sum would be paid to him on presentation of legal evidence of his right to receive it. Soon afterward William B. Astor addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, enclosing the claim of Farnham and Davenport

¹⁶⁶ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. X, No. 512, pp. 442, 443.

for settlement. Arrangements were then made at Washington to have the amount remitted.¹⁶⁷

Thus at last did the American Fur Company resume with a clean slate its trading operations with the Sacs and Foxes in their new homes west of the Black Hawk Purchase. As the wild game animals in the territory along the Mississippi became more and more scarce and white settlers were crowding in closer upon the native inhabitants, the profits of traders decreased in proportion. Only the Indians' removal farther west, ahead of the oncoming wave of whites, offered hope of the revival of business in furs and peltries. Thus it happened that upon the heels of the Sacs and Foxes departing from their villages along the Mississippi went their traders from Rock Island. The scenes of barter and exchange were being shifted westward as the vanguard of sturdy Anglo-Saxon conquerors with axe and plow began to reach the west bank of the Mighty River, not in search of furs but in their quest for excellent lands and better homes.

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¹⁶⁷ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Vol. IX, No. 512, pp. 699, 717.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN AS A FIELD FOR HISTORICAL STUDY¹

“Questions of land domination and of land distribution have formed the ultimate ground of political division and debate among men ever since the human race, in the evolution of society, passed from political organization on the basis of common territory. . . . The great leading factor in the formation of our governmental polity, and in the subsequent divisions of party among us, has always been, in the last analysis, a question relating more or less directly to the distribution of the national domain considered as the source and seat of political power.”²

Such a factor in human development is of course too vast to be successfully claimed by any one of the currents of historical progress since its influence has been wide and deep upon educational, social, financial, and economic life. The public domain has engrossed the efforts of statesmen and legislators; Indian wars have grown out of it; and land grabbers, speculators, and timber thieves have feasted thereon.

In the history of the West the public domain can well be regarded as the fundamental factor. The nearness, cheap-

¹ The total area of unappropriated and unreserved lands in the United States on June 30, 1913, was 297,927,206 acres (land surface). The total area of the States (land surface), not including Alaska and our insular possessions, is 1,903,289,600 acres, and the difference between this area and the unappropriated and unreserved lands on June 30, 1913, or 1,605,362,394 acres, is the total area disposed of to and including June 30, 1913.—Letter from the Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, dated September 15, 1913.

² Quoted from Welling's *The Land Politics of the United States*, published by the New York Historical Society, 1888. Cf. Trimble's *The Influence of the Passing of the Public Lands in the Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. CXIII, pp. 755-767.

ness, and accessibility of the soil yielded that easy prosperity of life and that high standard of abundance which contrasted sharply with the crowded and restricted areas of the Old World. The public domain has given us conceptions of vastness and space as well as continental standards in viewing our national growth and its problems.³ These conceptions were continental, national, and distinctly American rather than local, sectional, or European.

From historians, it would seem, the public domain has not received the attention or at least not the emphasis which has been given to other phases of historical study. Forty years ago it was practically a dark continent to investigators. The colonization and settlement of New England lives in the works of Palfrey and Fiske; Parkman has recited the struggle for a continent; Bancroft and others have treated the constitutional period; Henry Adams has brilliantly depicted the political and diplomatic events of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. But no Winsor or von Holst or Rhodes has exploited the public domain; and studies and researches in that field are not, as yet, commensurate in numbers or quality with the importance of the subject.

The sources on the public domain are generally accessible though not so abundant, apparently, as those on military or diplomatic history. Donaldson's *The Public Domain*⁴ (with statistics), prepared and printed by the government, is an encyclopaedia upon the subject down to December 1, 1883. Its 1302 pages teem with historical information concerning territorial acquisitions, boundary disputes, treaties, surveys, and land ordinances — from the Ordinance of 1785 to

³ Cf. Wilson's *The Proper Perspective of American History* in *The Forum*, Vol. XIX, pp. 544-559; Turner's *Contributions of the West to American Democracy* in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. XCI, pp. 83-96; and Callender's *Economic History of the United States*, pp. 666, 667.

⁴ Likewise published as *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 2nd Session, 47th Congress, Doc. No. 45, Part IV.

the Homestead Law of 1862. Facts and figures concerning railroad grants, donations, military bounties, purchases and sales of lands, private land claims, Indian reservations, and mineral lands constitute an inventory of national progress and an eloquent portrayal of natural wealth.

The eight volumes of the *American State Papers, Public Lands*,⁵ aggregating over 7000 pages are an almost inexhaustible mine of historical material for the forty-eight years ending with 1837. Petitions and memorials, administrative reports, surveys, and Supreme Court decisions are printed therein; thousands of land claims are recorded; there are descriptions of lead and salt mines; the minutes of land commissioners are long and detailed; while there is other matter concerned with land policies inaugurated by Great Britain, France, or the Kingdom of Spain.

In the proceedings of Congress⁶ may be found the debates on great land policies which became crystallized into such notable statutes as the Land Ordinance of 1785, the Act of 1800, the Preëemption Law of 1841, and the Homestead Act. Webster, Foote, Benton, Clay, and scores of others have contributed their discussions to various phases of the subject. And those statesmen who believed in the "manifest destiny" of the United States express in these records their faith and hope in the public domain.

Annual reports of the Commissioner of the General Land Office⁷ from 1826 to the present time describe the manifold operations of that office from year to year. Detailed statis-

⁵ The Gales and Seaton edition is referred to, the second volume of which was printed by Duff Green.

⁶ That is, in the *Journals of the Congress of the Confederation*, the *Annals of Congress*, the *Congressional Debates*, the *Congressional Globe*, and the *Congressional Record*.

⁷ The office of Commissioner of the General Land Office was created on April 25, 1812, and became subordinate to the Treasury Department. The General Land Office was recognized by the law on July 4, 1836. Since the creation of the Interior Department (March 3, 1849) the General Land Office has been a bureau of that department.—Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 164.

tics describe the work of land offices; the administration of federal statutes is explained; charges, investigations, and prosecutions are noted, and lists of grants and patents are recorded. "The General Land Office holds the records of title to the vast area known as the public domain, on which are hundreds of thousands of homes. Its records constitute the 'Doomesday Book' of the public domain of the United States."⁸

Published writings of such American statesmen as Washington, Franklin, Madison, Gallatin, and Clay contain other material. Benton's *Thirty Years View* presents many speeches on the public domain by a thoroughly western man. The census bulletins portray the growth and settlement of our public area; *Niles' Register* duplicates many of the documents and speeches of Congress; and in the thirty volumes of Thwaites's *Early Western Travels 1748-1846* are preserved the first impressions of travellers relative to surveys, purchases, grants, land companies, land offices, reserves, public sales, preëmption claims, and squatters.

But at the present time the essay, the monograph, and the volume have made a beginning of exploring and exploiting this almost untilled field. An early work (1885) is Adams's *Maryland's Influence upon Land Cessions to the United States*;⁹ Sato's *History of the Land Question in the United States*¹⁰ is a preliminary survey of the subject; the Bureau of Education has issued several circulars descriptive of land grants for educational purposes; while in 1910 there appeared Mr. Payson J. Treat's *The National Land System 1785-1820*.

To write the history of the public lands in a middle western Commonwealth like Iowa would be to exhibit in miniature a considerable portion of the history of the public

⁸ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 166.

⁹ Printed in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Third Series, No. I.

¹⁰ Printed in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, Fourth Series, Nos. VII, VIII, IX.

domain of the United States. The story of the various Indian cessions — treaties, diplomacy, annuities, and removals — is an unfinished portion of history for Iowa. Much more remains to be written concerning the military defense and protection of the region and concerning the constant pressure of population against the Indian hunting grounds.

After the army men and the treaty-makers came the Surveyors-General — unless indeed these were outrun by the westerning squatters. Much information was recorded at the Dubuque office, where such men as A. G. Ellis, George W. Jones, George B. Sargent, and C. H. Booth served as Surveyors-General. Their reports mention the superior quality of the soil,¹¹ the mineral lands, and water power; while diagrams and plats of lands showing the progress of the surveys were recorded, as well as information concerning the migrations of settlers.

But where are the biographies of the surveyors whose works abide in the roads and lines which mark the limits of townships and the bounds of Iowa homes? These surveyors, chain carriers, and axemen were pioneers. Equipped

¹¹ "Between the base and first correction line, and west of the line dividing ranges 34 and 35, one hundred and one townships have been placed under contract for subdivision. In this portion of the State, the soil is unsurpassed in the world for richness and fertility, and the only drawback is the deficiency of timber. Many of these townships are settled to some extent, and this settlement is rapidly increasing. The district adjoining the Missouri river is almost entirely claimed by actual settlers, and in some localities these claims are valued at from two to three thousand dollars. There are several respectable towns and villages in the above named tract, among which are Trader's point, Coonsville, Indian town, Kanessville, and Carterville. Twenty-three saw and grist mills are in operation, some of them very fine and worked by steam. Fields and farms cover the surface of the country. In the single township 75, range 44, there is a population of at least four thousand souls. The country bears every evidence of industry and prosperity, and has, in many places, the appearance of a country settled for years." — From the report of George B. Sargent, Surveyor-General of the Dubuque Land Office, to J. Butterfield, Commissioner of the General Land Office, dated October 24, 1851, and printed in *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 32nd Congress, Vol. III, Part 1, pp. 67-77.

with horses, camp furniture, compass, chains, talley-pins, hatchets, whetstones, pens, ink, paper, and field-books, they marked and blazed the way for the land hungry homeseekers.¹² Long marches over unmarked courses, hunger, heat, and cold may have fallen to the lot of these surveyors, but such hardships were not always recorded in the reports sent to the Surveyor-General's office.¹³

Twenty-five contracts dated between May 4, 1837, and July 3, 1838, were made by the Surveyor-General for surveying in the Territory of Iowa. The surveyors with their assistants worked from four to seven months and covered courses of varying lengths at \$2.75 per mile. Among the names of these surveyors are those of Thomas Cox and Moses M. Strong; one Andrew Porter surveyed seven townships, while William A. and Alvin Burt made a return for 1341 miles.¹⁴ Between October 29, 1844, and September 26, 1845, Surveyor-General George W. Jones let twenty-four contracts for surveys in the Iowa Territory.¹⁵ Such men marked off millions of acres and their pioneer work in the founding of the Commonwealth is worthy of the historian's labors.

Likewise the land offices with the Registers and the Receivers of Public Moneys still await adequate treatment from the historians. In the records of the thirteen land

¹² Cf. Woodard's *The Public Domain, its Surveys and Surveyors* in the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 306-323.

¹³ "During four consecutive weeks there was not a dry garment in the party day or night. The labors of the party invariably commenced with the earliest light, and through the long days of June and early July, in that latitude continued without a moment's cessation until dark."—From report of Deputy Surveyor Henry A. Wiltse (for Wisconsin Territory) to Surveyor-General George W. Jones, dated August 20, 1847, and printed in *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 30th Congress, Vol. II, Doc. No. 2, pp. 94-97.

¹⁴ From report of Surveyor-General E. S. Haines printed in *Senate Reports*, 3rd Session, 25th Congress, Vol. I, Doc. No. 27, pp. 42-44.

¹⁵ *Senate Documents*, 1st Session, 29th Congress, Vol. III, Doc. No. 16, pp. 60, 61.

offices¹⁶ of Iowa may be found thousands and thousands of names which form a wonderful picture of migration and settlement. It was at these offices that the land officers conducted the public sales in the presence of settlers and speculators gathered from nearly every State of the Union.

When the public bidding at the Burlington office began on November 19, 1838, great numbers of settlers were on hand. On that day Lewis Benedict, a speculator from Albany, New York, bought 960 acres. Richard F. Barret of Sangamon County, Illinois, and Lyne Sterling of Franklin County were present with their coin for speculation and later invested in thousands of acres.

In this land district the first purchase was made on October 1, 1838, under the preëmption act of the preceding June. John H. Murphy of Des Moines County was the purchaser and the records say that "the applicant could not tell what the middle 'H' in his name stood for." Receipt number 232 was for \$98.71 paid for 78.97 acres by Claibourne Lea, of Highland County, Ohio. In two weeks the public sales at Burlington amounted to \$295,495.61.¹⁷

These land sales furnished an interesting and picturesque scene.¹⁸ For days prospective buyers, impatient for the opening of the sale, had thronged the hotels and lodgings. New acquaintances were made, and hope and anxiety might have been seen written on the faces of many who had brought all their worldly goods with which to buy a home. Dining-rooms, wagons, and bar-rooms were made to do service as bed-rooms. The suburbs were like a military camp and dinners were eaten from tables or stumps. Stim-

¹⁶ These were located at Dubuque, Marion, Burlington, Fairfield, Iowa City, Chariton, Des Moines, Kanesville, Council Bluffs, Decorah, Osage, Fort Dodge, and Sioux City.

¹⁷ These names and figures are taken from the records of the Burlington land office. These for many years were preserved at Des Moines, Iowa, until they were finally removed to Washington, D. C.

¹⁸ Newhall's *Sketches of Iowa*, pp. 57, 58.

ulated by the buzz and excitement of the throngs the land officers were hurrying to prepare plats, to appoint township bidders, and to receive preëmption claims. And who can doubt that it was a great event for Lemuel Green Jackson, when on November 19, 1838, he was the successful bidder for 80 acres of land at \$1.25 per acre? Title, property, home, and the future, all were now assured.

For some historian to revive the public bidding, the excitement, the joys, and the disappointments witnessed by the fifteen land offices of Ohio would be to reconstruct a segment of the history of the Old Northwest. The establishment and later the discontinuance or removal of land offices measured in a way the flow and ebb of settlement as well as the gradual absorption of the public lands. And who will say that the operations of the land office at Marietta or at Zanesville are less worthy of the work of the historian than are events like the taking of Fort Ticonderoga or the battle of Bunker Hill?

Federal land grants in Iowa for educational purposes have already been treated by the investigator.¹⁹ The seventeen railroad grants made for Iowa between 1856 and 1864 still await adequate historical investigation. The operations of the Homestead Law, under which there were over 8000 final entries in Iowa between 1862 and 1880, remain an unwritten chapter in the settlement of Iowa.

Fourteen States besides Iowa shared in the swamp land acts. "The amounts realized by the different States and the prices paid to them by individuals and corporations for these lands (many as low as ten cents per acre, and now the best agricultural land in some of these States), would be an interesting chapter. Such grants are always fertile fields for schemes."²⁰

To the histories that could be written concerning scores of

¹⁹ Buffum's *Federal and State Aid to Education in Iowa* in *THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS*, Vol. IV, pp. 554-598.

²⁰ Quoted from Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 221.

special grants in various States the moralist can add his censure or praise. Fifty acres were offered by Congress in 1776 to every deserter from the British army; grants have been voted to refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia, to the French settlers at Galliopolis, to La Fayette, to the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition, to the New Madrid earthquake sufferers, and to Polish exiles. For over a hundred years the public domain has been the target for the hopes and designs of schemers. But with jealous care able men have generally been placed at the head of land committees in Congress. Such statesmen "have combated and driven off more than twenty thousand propositions involving grants of lands for all conceivable objects,—for starting goat-farms, dairies, voyages around the earth, trips of exploration to the Arctic regions, schools of a hundred varieties, scientific purposes,—demanding thousands of acres to be sold for the benefit of their schemes."²¹

A chapter on land grants for military and naval services in our foreign wars has already appeared.²² Attention can be further directed to hundreds of bounties granted by special acts of Congress. The lead mines of Missouri further invite the investigator. Large gaps in the history of the public domain would be filled by monographs on the workings of the various preëmption acts, the graduation law, the distribution acts, and federal statutes upon coal and mineral lands. Some day worthy themes for historical study will be found in the irrigation and reclamation policies of the Far West. In human significance and interest the history of the administration of the Carey Land Act should at least be equal to that of a New England parish or village.

Historical excursions into the Spanish policies and administration relating to the public domain in Lower Louisiana would give additional chapters to the story of the

²¹ Quoted from Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, p. 22.

²² Treat's *The National Land System 1785-1820*, Chapter X.

Province. These would consider the powers of Spanish officials, the liberal grants to encourage settlement, relations with the Indians, and the disposition of mineral sites. Likewise much history would be written in the story of the "Bastrop Grant", the Maison Rouge Claim, the Houmas Grant, and the New Orleans Batture.²³

To scan the index of Donaldson's *The Public Domain* suggests other topics capable of more extended treatment. The "Erie Purchase", legislation on desert lands, the Public Land Strip, the Perdido claim, military wagon roads, sailors' and soldiers' homesteads, and the Yellowstone National Park are subjects that have possessed human interest and have been matters of legislation.

Far from complete is an historical analysis of the effects of this occupation and conquest of the land upon social life and the spirit of democracy. Loose political coherence and a rather structureless economic system are some of the reapings from this conquest. "To-day we cannot tear down a slum, regulate a corporation, or establish a national educational system, we cannot attack either industrial oligarchy or political corruption, without coming into contact with the economic, political, and psychological after effects of the conquest."²⁴

Ideals of personal worth and individualism grew out of the quickly conquered public domain; and an advancing and sometimes receding frontier type measured the rate of absorption of the free public lands.²⁵ But ideals of public welfare and social needs have grown to oppose the former

²³ Donaldson's *The Public Domain*, pp. 373, 374.

²⁴ Weyl's *The New Democracy*, pp. 23, 24.

²⁵ "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at present the unsettled area has been so broken into by isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line. In the discussion of its extent and its westward movement it can not, therefore, any longer have a place in the census reports."—*Compendium of the Eleventh Census: 1890; Part I, Population*, p. xlviii.

ideals of individualism, liberty, and equality. "Social institutions have been subjected to strain, stress and processes of modification and adaptation, and have thus been carried a long way on the road of social evolution."²⁶ Democracy now demands coal lands for posterity, rather than for the present-day plutocracy; timber, mines, and water power sites for the future, and, either by Nation or by State, the conservation of the unappropriated wealth of our public domain.

LOUIS PELZER

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IOWA CITY IOWA

²⁶ Quoted from Hill's *The Public Domain and Democracy*, p. 233, in *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 1. This stimulating monograph is one of the best that has appeared upon the subject.

SOME PUBLICATIONS

Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its Sixty-first Annual Meeting. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1914. Pp. 238. Portraits, plates, maps. The proceedings of the annual meeting in 1913 and the last report of the late Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites as Superintendent of the Society occupy the opening pages in the volume under consideration.

Of much interest to students of Upper Mississippi Valley history is the excellent paper on *The Spanish Domination of Upper Louisiana*, by Walter B. Douglas. *The Telegraph in Wisconsin* is the subject of a paper by Ellis B. Usher. The *Recollections of Antoine Grignon* carry the reader back to the fur trading period in Wisconsin, of which the writer, who was born at Prairie du Chien in 1828, was one of the few survivors at the time of his death. Early Prairie du Chien, the beginnings of Trempealeau, the hardships of mail-carriers, Dodge's home guards, the fur trade, Winnebago removal, the Hudson's Bay Company, early St. Paul, trading at Blue Earth, an Indian census, fur trading customs, Indian industries, Indian games, the medicine-man, Indian customs, and Indian character are among the subjects touched upon in these recollections, which contain much that pertains to Iowa history.

A discussion of *The Influence of the Whites on Winnebago Culture*, by Paul Radin, is of interest to Iowans because these Indians once lived in northeastern Iowa, where their contact with white people was decidedly detrimental to them, as is stated clearly in the messages of Governor John Chambers of the Territory of Iowa. *La Verendrye's Farthest West* is the title of a brief article by Doane Robinson. The remainder of the volume is taken up with *T. Turnbull's Travels from the United States Across the Plains to California*, edited with introduction and notes by Frederic L. Paxson. This journal is of general interest as being typical of the experiences of overland travelers to California in the period of the

rush to the gold fields; and it is of special interest in Iowa because the traveler crossed this State in the year 1852, entering at Lyons and leaving the State at Council Bluffs.

Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1912. (Publication Number Seventeen of the Illinois State Historical Library). Springfield, Illinois: Illinois State Journal Co. 1914. Pp. xiv, 233. Portraits, plates. The papers read at the thirteenth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society are contained in this volume. In the first place there is a timely paper on *The West and the War with Mexico*, by William E. Dodd. A topic of much interest in the history of early western explorations is discussed by Henry W. Lee under the heading *The Calumet Portage*. Charles B. Johnson tells of *Every Day Life in Illinois Near the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, presenting a clear picture of the life of the average person in the Middle West during the fifties. *The Climate of Illinois: Its Permanence* is the subject of a paper by M. L. Fuller. *Some Reminiscences of Pioneer Rock Island Women*, by Mrs. K. T. Anderson, contains mention of several persons well known in Iowa history.

Other papers which have an interest beyond the bounds of the State of Illinois are: *Genesis of the Whig Party in Illinois*, by C. M. Thompson; *Joseph Gillespie*, by Josephine G. Prickett; *Was there a French Fort at Chicago?*, by Milo M. Quaife; *Virginia Currency in the Illinois Country*, by Minnie G. Cook; and *Senator Stephen A. Douglas and the Germans in 1854*, by F. I. Herriott. A list of *The Old Towns of Illinois*, compiled by W. D. Barge is also of interest. A comprehensive index completes the volume.

The Whig Party in the South. By ARTHUR CHARLES COLE, Ph. D. Washington: American Historical Association. 1913. Pp. xii, 392. Maps. This monograph consists of the essay which won the Justin Winsor Prize in American History for 1912. The student of political history will find the volume very useful in that it furnishes a complete account of the Whig party in the South from the time of the organization of the party down to the period of its final dissolution. The period of origins, 1830-1835; the rise of the Whig party in the South, 1836-1840; the growth of unity, 1841-1844;

the slavery question down to 1848; the southern movement and the compromise, 1848-1850; the Union movement, 1850-1851; the problem of reorganization, 1851-1852; the election of 1852; the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; and attempts at reorganization, 1854-1861, are the topics discussed in the ten chapters of the monograph. Copious notes and references indicate that the research was prosecuted with diligence among original sources. There is a series of maps showing the distribution of party votes at the different elections in the various sections of the South; and the volume is provided with an excellent index.

The Library of Congress has published a volume entitled *The Star Spangled Banner*, written by Oscar G. T. Sonneck.

The Boston Book Company has published an introductory manual and bibliographical guide of more than four hundred and sixty pages, entitled *Law, Legislative and Municipal Reference Libraries*. The writer is John Boynton Kaiser.

A recent number of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* consists of a monograph on the *Colonial Trade of Maryland, 1689-1715*, by Margaret Shove Morriss. The three chapters deal with staple products and chief exports; imports; and trade routes and illicit trade.

The Department of the Interior has published a useful pamphlet containing data concerning the areas of the acquisitions to the territory of the United States and of the various States, Territories, and possessions, together with a diagram showing the historical development of the States.

In the *University of Toronto Studies* there has appeared volume eighteen of the *Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada*, compiled by George M. Wrong, H. H. Langton, and W. Stewart Wallace, and covering the publications of the year 1913. In this volume, as might be expected, are reviews of many books which have a bearing at least on the history of the United States as well as of Canada.

The general topic of discussion in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for July is the *International Relations of the United States*. The various papers are grouped under four main headings: the present status of the Monroe Doctrine; the Mexican situation, its problems and obligations; the policy of the United States on the Pacific; and the elements of a constructive American foreign policy. In a communication near the close of the volume G. C. Mathews presents *The Truth about State Regulation of Utilities in Wisconsin*.

An interesting study is one dealing with *The Methodist Episcopal Church and the Civil War*, which constitutes a monograph prepared by William Warren Sweet. The nine chapters deal with the status of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the opening of the war, the church on the border, the church in the New England and Atlantic States, the church in the Central and northwestern States, missions of the church in the South during the war, Methodist periodicals, Methodist chaplains in the Union armies, the war bishops, and Methodist coöperation with inter-denominational organizations.

Articles which appear in *The American Political Science Review* for August are: *Cabinet Government in France*, by James W. Garner; *The Authority of Vattel*, by Charles G. Fenwick; *Benjamin Franklin's Plans for a Colonial Union, 1760-1775*, by Mrs. L. K. Mathews; and *The New York County System*, by H. S. Gilbertson. Among the *Legislative Notes and Reviews*, edited by John A. Lapp, are short articles on State officers, boards and commissions created and abolished in 1913; the legislation of 1913 affecting nominations and elections; absent voters; and constitutional amendments.

Among the articles in the April number of *Americana* are the *Election of Judge Doolittle as Senator from Wisconsin in 1857*, by Duane Mowry; and *New England and the Yazoo Land Frauds*, by Forrest Morgan. In the May number J. C. Pumpelly presents some *Data Historical and Biographical, Connected with the Pioneer Days in Tioga County*; John Howard Brown writes on *American Naval Heroes*; and Duane Mowry furnishes a brief sketch on *The Crittenden Resolution*. The June number contains, among other articles,

an address by Nicholas Murray Butler entitled *Not Liberty, but Regulation and Restriction are the Watchwords of To-day*; and an article on *Gethsemane, Kentucky, the Home of Trappist Monks*, by Caroline W. Berry. In all three numbers there are continuations of Brigham H. Roberts's *History of the Mormon Church*.

WESTERN AMERICANA

A History of Unity Baptist Church, Muhlenberg County, Kentucky, is a little volume written by Otto A. Rothert, which has been printed by John P. Morton and Company of Louisville, Kentucky.

A two-volume set of documents relative to *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768-1780*, edited with introduction and notes by Herbert Eugene Bolton, has been published by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland, Ohio.

The reports of the departments of anthropology and history and the list of accessions to the library as found in the *Fourth Biennial Report of the Board of Curators* of the Louisiana State Museum are of interest to historians.

Among the articles in *The Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for July are the following: *Democracy and Literature*, by A. W. Crawford; *The Story of the Medieval Cathedrals of the Rhine Valley*, by George Pullen Jackson; *The Hebrew Account of the Creation in the Light of Some Others*, by Wallace Nelson Stearns; and *Making "A Pageant of the North West"*, by Frederick Henry Koch.

The March-June number of the *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* consists of a two hundred and thirty page monograph entitled *A History of the General Property Tax in Illinois*, by Robert Murray Haig. The twelve chapters of the study are devoted to the origin of the general property tax in Illinois; economic characteristics and the financial system; legislation from 1809 to 1838; the efficiency of the tax system down to 1838; taxation for debt payment; taxable property in general and its assessment; the assessment of personal property; the assessment of real estate; review,

equalization, extension, and collection; the taxation of corporations, and summary and conclusions.

IOWANA

Walter A. Jessup is the writer of an article on *School Administration and Secondary Schools* which appears in *Midland Schools* for September.

The June number of *The Alumnus of Iowa State College* consists of an alumni directory.

Points Where the Banker has Failed are set forth by James K. Lynch in an article in the August number of *The Northwestern Banker*.

An article on *Frank O. Lowden*, by James B. Weaver; an outline of *The Irving Semi-Centennial*; and brief sketches of *Alumni in Politics* are among the contents of *The Iowa Alumnus* for October.

In the July, August, and September numbers of *Autumn Leaves* will be found installments of the *Autobiography of Elder Alma Booker*.

The Teacher and the State is the subject of the commencement address delivered at the Iowa State Teachers College in June, 1914, by Thomas Huston Macbride, president of the State University of Iowa. The address has been printed in pamphlet form.

Among the articles in the August number of *American Municipalities* is one by F. H. French on *Municipal Bond Issues in Iowa*. In the September number, among other things, there is an outline of *Wisconsin Public Utility Regulation* containing an adverse view.

An address on the *Proposed Improvements of the Iowa State Capitol Grounds*, delivered before the Iowa Chapter of the American Institute of Architects by Edgar R. Harlan, has been rearranged and reprinted from the *Annals of Iowa*.

The Commercial Value of the Keokuk Dam to Iowa and the Mississippi Valley, by G. Walter Barr; *City Manager Plan Applied*

to *Iowa Public Improvements*, by Charles P. Chase; and *Recent Railway Improvements*, by S. N. Williams, are among the papers in the *Proceedings of the Twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Iowa Engineering Society*.

Ancient Scottish Rite Document, by Julius F. Sachse; *Is Freemasonry a Democratic Institution?*, by Joseph E. Morcombe; and *The Masonic Standing of Joseph Smith, Founder of Mormonism* are articles in the August number of *The American Freemason*.

Volume twenty-two of the *Iowa Geological Survey* is devoted to an *Annotated Bibliography of Iowa Geology and Mining*, compiled by Charles Keyes. The first three chapters of the introduction, dealing with geographical explorations, early geological investigations, and the history of mining in Iowa are of interest and value from an historical standpoint.

The first article in the July number of the *Journal of History*, published at Lamoni, Iowa, by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, is one entitled *Puritan Patriots*, and the writer is Herbert Spencer Salisbury. Under the heading of *Indians* Heman C. Smith gives an account of the organization and purposes of the Society of American Indians. The remainder of the *Journal* is taken up with continuations of biographical and autobiographical material.

SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS BY IOWA AUTHORS

Athearn, Walter S.,

The Church School. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 1914.

Ayers, Philip Wheelock,

New Forest Reserves in Eastern Mountains (Review of Reviews, July, 1914).

Beresford, Rex,

Beef Production in Iowa. Ames: Iowa Beef Producers' Association. 1914.

Bessey, Charles Edwin,

Notable Botanical Career of Charles H. Peck (Science, July 10, 1914).

Beyer, S. W., and Wright, H. F.,

Road and Concrete Materials in Iowa (Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XXIV).

Boyd, J. O.,

Thirty Years a Justice (American Law Review, July-August, 1914).

Burdette, Robert Jones,

Alpha and Omega: A Little Cluster of Easter Blossoms. Pasadena, California: Clara Vista Press. 1914.

A Little Philosophy of Life. Pasadena, California: Clara Vista Press. 1914.

Byers, S. H. M.,

Poems of S. H. M. Byers. New York: The Neale Publishing Co. 1914.

Cady, George Luther,

Progress in Prison Reform in Massachusetts (Survey, June 27, 1914).

Devine, Edward Thomas,

Philanthropy and Business (Survey, June 6, 1914).

New Health (Survey, July 4, 1914).

Ferber, Edna,

Personality Plus. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1914.

Ficke, Arthur Davison,

Mr. Faust. New York: Kennerley. 1913.

Sonnets of a Portrait-painter (Forum, August, 1914).

Fitch, George,

Sizing Up Uncle Sam. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1914.

Franklin, William Suddards (Joint author),

Elementary Electricity and Magnetism. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1914.

Garland, Hamlin,

On the Road with James A. Herne (Century, August, 1914).

Hixson, A. W.,

Analysis of Iowa Coals (Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XXIV).

Hutchinson, Woods,

When the Stork Arrives (Good Housekeeping, July, 1914).

Holst, Bernhart P.,

The New Teachers' and Pupils' Cyclopaedia (New edition).

Chicago: Gray Publishing Co. 1914.

Ingham, Dorcas Helen,

Passing Pictures. Los Angeles: Golden Press. 1914.

Jackson, Harry Albert,

Better Store System and Department Accounting. Grinnell,

Iowa: Grinnell Herald Publishing Co. 1914.

Kay, George F.,

A New Gypsum Deposit in Iowa. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1914.

Mineral Productions in Iowa for 1911 and 1912 (Iowa Geological Survey, Vol. XXIV).

Lees, James H.,

The Iowa Academy of Science (Science, July 24, 1914).

Raymond, William G.,

Plane Surveying, for Use in the Classroom and Field. New York: American Book Co. 1914.

Rogers, Julia Ellen,

Tree Guide: Trees East of the Rockies. Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co. 1914.

Schell, Edwin A.,

In Ports Afar. New York: Abingdon Press. 1914.

Steiner, Edward A.,

From Alien to Citizen. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1914.

Sylvester, Reuel Hull,

The Form Board Test. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. 1913.

Weld, Laenas G.,

Decisive Episodes in Western History. Iowa City: The State Historical Society of Iowa. 1914.

SOME RECENT HISTORICAL ITEMS IN IOWA NEWSPAPERS

The Register and Leader

Birthdays of Famous Iowans (brief biographical sketches appearing from day to day).

588 IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS

Controversy over True History of "Paint Rock" in Allamakee County, July 5, 1914.

Big Men who Have Lived in Fremont County, July 12, 1914.

J. S. Whittaker — Iowan Who Saw First Bobsled, July 26, 1914.

Anniversary of Founding of Cascade, Iowa, August 2, 1914.

Sketch of life of William H. Ingham, August 4, 1914.

Historic Bell Comes Back to Fort Madison, August 9, 1914.

Homecoming of Iowa Authors to be Notable Literary and Historical Event, August 23, 1914.

Sketch of life of David J. Palmer, September 5, 1914.

History of Town of Garnavillo, September 6, 1914.

Homecoming of Iowa Authors, Artists and Journalists in October, September 13, 1914.

Mrs. Kirkwood Celebrates Her Ninety-third Birthday, September 20, 1914.

The Burlington Hawk-Eye

In Old Burlington. (In each Sunday issue.)

The Autobiography and Memoirs of an Average American Boy, by J. H. Tedford, July 5, 26, August 23, 30, September 13, 27, 1914.

Dr. J. S. Caster, his Character and Works, July 12, 1914.

The Sultana Disaster, A River Tragedy of the Sixties, July 19, 1914.

Local Pioneer History, July 19, 1914.

When the War Storm Broke, by W. P. Elliott, July 26, 1914.

Sells Circus Had its Rise in Burlington, August 9, 1914.

Martin Green of the New York World, Formerly of Burlington, August 16, 1914.

Miscellaneous

Sketch of the life of Dwight S. Priest, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel-Post*, June 9, 1914.

Old Marion County, running in the *Knoxville Express*, June-September, 1914.

Early History of Delaware County, in the *Earlville Phoenix*, June 11, July 9, 1914.

Mill History of Hamilton County, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, June 11, 12, 1914.

Flood Traditions of the Indians, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, June 11, 1914.

Where is Iowa's First Constitution?, in the *Des Moines Plain Talk*, June 11, 1914.

Audubon County During the Civil War, in the *Audubon Advocate*, June 11, 1914.

Historical Sketch of Indianapolis Church, in the *Oskaloosa Globe*, June 13, 1914.

Col. Jed Lake — Iowa Attorney Who Won Famous Case, in the *Dubuque Times-Journal*, June 14, 1914.

Diary of the Civil War, by Alex McDonald, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, June 14, 28, July 5, 1914.

Sketch of the life of E. E. Cook, in the *Davenport Democrat*, June 16, 1914.

Sketch of the life of John Cliggitt, in the *Mason City Globe-Gazette*, June 17, 1914.

Reminiscences of Early Days, in the *St. Ansgar Enterprise*, June 17, 1914.

Golden Jubilee of Little Brown Church and Old Bradford Academy, in the *Nashua Reporter*, June 18, 1914.

Early Bear Creek History, in the *Redfield Review*, June 18, August 17, 1914.

Life in Iowa in Pioneer Days, in the *Mason City Times*, June 24, 1914.

Memoirs of Quaker Divide, by D. B. Cook, running in the *Dexter Sentinel*, June-September, 1914.

Mahaska County History, in the *Oskaloosa Herald*, June 26, 1914.

Early History of Mahaska County, in the *Oskaloosa Globe*, June 27, 1914.

Early Post Offices in Boone County, in the *Boone News-Republican*, June 27, 1914.

Pioneer Days in Iowa Falls, in the *Iowa Falls Sentinel*, June 30, 1914.

Sketch of the life of J. T. Turner, in the *Iowa City Citizen*, July 2, 1914.

Dubuque as the Home of a U. S. Senator — William B. Allison, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, July 5, 1914.

Sketch of the life of S. W. Cole, in the *West Union Gazette*, July 8, 1914.

Memoirs of Mary E. Fobes, in the *Dows Advocate*, July 10, 1914.

S. W. Field Tells of Pioneer Experiences in Page County, in the *Shenandoah Sentinel-Post*, July 10, 1914.

History of the Rock Island Arsenal, in the *Clinton Herald*, July 13, 1914.

E. B. Griffith, Early Stage Driver, in the *Fairfield Tribune*, July 15, 1914.

An Old Indian Battle Ground, in the *Onawa Democrat*, July 23, 1914.

Battle of Credit Island Fought One Hundred Years Ago, in the *Davenport Democrat and Leader*, July 26, 1914.

Henry Vogeli, Resident of Dubuque Since 1829, in the *Dubuque Telegraph-Herald*, July 26, 1914.

First Monument to Iowa Valor, in the *Webster City Freeman-Tribune*, July 28, 1914.

Peter Winter, a Pioneer of Wapello County, in the *Ottumwa Courier*, July 28, 1914.

Four Revolutionary Soldiers Buried in Iowa, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, July 29, 1914.

First Days in Webster County, in the *Fort Dodge Chronicle*, August 1, 15, 22, 29, September 5, 12, 19, 1914.

Pioneer Days in Waterloo, in the *Waterloo Courier and Reporter*, August 1, 8, 1914.

Sketch of the life of James Cook, in the *Onawa Democrat*, August 6, 1914.

Early Days in Walnut Township, Madison County, in the *Winterset Madisonian*, August 12, 1914.

Early Lee County History, in the *Fort Madison Democrat*, August 17, 1914.

Early Mitchell County History, by W. W. Griswold, in the *Osage News*, August 20, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Edward Knott, in the *Waverly Independent*, August 20, 1914.

- Recollections of Pioneer Sioux City Women, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 20, 1914.
- Tribute to the late George D. Perkins, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 20, 1914.
- Pioneer Editor Recalls Early Days in Woodbury County, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 20, 1914.
- Perilous Winter Journey to Sioux City in 1856, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 20, 1914.
- Teacher of First School in Sioux City, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 20, 1914.
- Defense of the Iowa Frontier Against the Indians, 1856-1864, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 20, 1914.
- Winter of 1856-1857 in Cherokee County, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 30, 1914.
- George Murphy's Journey to Sioux City in 1854, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 20, 1914.
- The Old Times were the Hardest, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 21, 1914.
- Seventieth Anniversary of Organization of Mahaska County, in the *Oskaloosa Globe*, August 22, 1914.
- First Passenger Train in the State, in the *Davenport Times*, August 25, 1914.
- The Founders of Estherville, in the *Estherville Democrat*, August 26, 1914.
- W. M. Baker, Pioneer of Newton, in the *Newton Journal*, August 28, 1914.
- Early History of the Pioneer Churches of Sioux City, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 30, 1914.
- Story of a Survivor of the Sibley Expedition of 1863, in the *Sioux City Journal*, August 30, 1914.
- First Railway Mail Car came into Clinton, in the *Clinton Advertiser*, August 31, 1914.
- Story of Early Settlers in Linn County, in the *Cedar Rapids Republican*, September 1, 1914.
- Iowa's First Land Marks — Grave of Sergeant Floyd, in the *Densin Review*, September 2, 1914.
- Forty Years in Dakota, in the *Le Mars Sentinel*, September 8, 1914.

Experience of a Pioneer near Smithland in 1856-7, in the *Castana Times*, September 3, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Dr. George F. Jenkins, in the *Keokuk Gate City*, September 6, 1914.

Treasury Robbery of February, 1867, in the *Knoxville Journal*, September 10, 1914.

Marshall County Quakers and Marshall County in 1858, in the *Marshalltown Times-Republican*, September 18, 1914.

Sketch of the life of Abijah Savage, in the *Washington Democrat*, September 23, 1914.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

PUBLICATIONS

The Medford Historical Register for July is taken up largely with an article on *Medford Bells*, by Moses W. Mann.

An address on *The Fifth Musketeer: The Marquis de La Fayette*, by Marshall Putnam Thompson, is to be found in the *Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for 1914*.

An article on *An Indiana Village: New Harmony*, by John H. Holliday, constitutes volume five, number four of the *Indiana Historical Society Publications*.

A memorial address on *Reuben Gold Thwaites*, by Frederick Jackson Turner, has been issued as a neat little volume by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The Michigan Historical Commission has published in pamphlet form a biographical sketch of *Patrick Sinclair, Builder of Fort Mackinac*, by William L. Jenks.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has recently published in pamphlet form its *Proceedings* for the year 1913-1914, and its revised charter and by-laws.

The Annual Report of the Essex Institute for the Year Ending May 4, 1914, contains the reports of officers for the year covered, and lists of officers and committees.

The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July contains, among other things, a memoir on *Don Gleason Hill*, by Julius Herbert Tuttle.

Tract No. 93 issued by The Western Reserve Historical Society contains a catalogue of *The Charles G. King Collection of Books on Costume*.

Netherland Settlers in New Jersey, by John D. Prince; *Suggestions for a New Jersey Bibliography*, by William Nelson; and *Coxe Hall*, by John Clement, are articles in the January number of the *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*.

A Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States Since 1783, compiled by Charles O. Paullin and Frederic L. Paxson, has been published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Bulletin of Information No. 71, issued by The State Historical Society of Wisconsin contains a list of the *Periodicals and Newspapers Currently Received at the Library*, corrected to January 1, 1914.

The *Manual of the New Hampshire Historical Society* for 1914 contains the charter and by-laws and an historical sketch of the Society, a description of its new building, and lists of officers and members.

In the June number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* there may be found some controversial communications relative to *The Air of "The Star Spangled Banner"*, by W. H. G. Flood and H. T. Henry; and a continuation of the *Life of Bishop Conwell*, by the late Martin I. J. Griffin.

The July number of *Historia* published by the Oklahoma Historical Society contains the reports submitted at the annual meeting on June 6, 1914, a list of the accessions to the library and collections of the Society during the preceding year, and an account of the history and legal status of the Society.

The Early Sentiment for the Annexation of California: An Account of the Growth of American Interest in California, 1835-1846, by Robert Glass Clelend; *Beginnings of the Secession Movement in Texas*, by Anna Irene Sandbo; *Southern Opposition to the Annexation of Texas*, by Elizabeth Howard West; and the eleventh installment of *British Correspondence Concerning Texas*, edited by Ephraim Douglass Adams, are contributions in the July number of *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*.

The March-October number of the *German American Annals* is devoted entirely to *The Graffenried Manuscript C*, edited by Albert B. Faust. The manuscript, which is in the French language, consists of the account of the settlement of Newbern, North Carolina written by Christoph von Graffenried. English and German versions of practically this same account have previously been printed.

The Journal of American Folk-Lore for April-June is an "Hispanic Number" published in collaboration with the Hispanic Society of America. The four contributions are: *New-Mexican Spanish Folk-Lore*, by Aurelio M. Espinosa; *Folk-Tales of the Tepecanos*, by J. Alden Mason; *Comparative Notes on New-Mexican and Mexican Spanish Folk-Tales*, by Aurelio M. Espinosa; and *Loga del Nino Dios*, by Rudolph Schuller.

The Steamboat "Massachusetts" and the Beginnings of Steam Navigation in Boston Bay, by Francis B. C. Bradler, is an article which appears in the opening pages of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* for July. Among the contents may also be found some selections from *The Probate Records of Essex County, Massachusetts*; and a continuation of *A Genealogical-Historical Visitation of Andover, Mass., in the Year 1863*, by Alfred Poore.

The fourteenth article in Henry A. M. Smith's series on *The Baronies of South Carolina*, dealing in this instance with the Ashepoo Barony, appears in the opening pages of *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* for April. A list of *South Carolina Almanacs to 1800* is compiled by Mabel L. Webber. There is also a continuation of the *Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimké, August, 1778, to May, 1780*.

There is always an interest and value in source material such as *Major Alphonso Wetmore's Diary of a Journey to Santa Fe, 1828*, which is printed in the July number of the *Missouri Historical Review*. Among the articles are: a third installment of *Echoes of Indian Emigration*, by David W. Eaton; *An Old Missouri Town — Napton, Saline County*, by Rollins Bingham; *Mormon Troubles in Carroll County*, by Susan H. Whiteman; and *The First Soldier Paper*, by Edgar White.

Arnold Henry Dohrman, by A. J. Morrison; *The Ohio Prospectus for the Year 1775*, by the same writer; *Clement L. Vallandigham*, by W. H. Van Fossan; *Beginnings of Lutheranism in Ohio*, by B. F. Prince; *General Simon Perkins*, by Walter W. Spooner; *Geographic Influences in the History of Milan, Ohio*, by Charles G. Shatzer; *Ohio Generals and Field Officers in the Civil War*, by W. L. Curry; and *A History of Banking in Ohio*, by P. W. Huntington, are contributions in the July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly*.

Four articles are to be found in *The American Historical Review* for July, namely: *Some Early Instances of Concentration of Representatives in England*, by Albert Beebe White; *Legal Materials as Sources for the Study of Modern English History*, by Arthur Lyon Cross; *Committees of Council and the Cabinet, 1660-1688*, by Edward Raymond Turner; and *General Wilkinson and his Later Intrigues with the Spaniards*, by Isaac Joslin Cox. Under the heading of Documents appear a number of *Estimates of the Value of Slaves, 1815*.

The initial contribution in the *Indiana Magazine of History* for July is an entertaining article on *Home Life in Early Indiana*, by William F. Vogel. The homes, the dress, and the occupations of the pioneers are described clearly and concisely. The *Campaign of 1888 in Indiana*, by R. C. Buley; *Hindustan — a Pioneer Town of Martin County*, by Carlos T. McCarty; *Suggestions for Using the Indiana High School Text Books in History*, by Oscar H. Williams; and *Conscription and Draft in Indiana During the Civil War*, by Charles E. Canup, are other articles.

Volume thirteen of the *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* for the year 1913, edited by Julius Goebel, contains a number of valuable contributions. One hundred and forty pages are devoted to a monograph on *The Life and Works of Therese Robinson (Talvj)*, by Elizabeth Voigt. Then follows a biographical sketch of *Jakob Leisler*, by Albert J. W. Kern. Julius Goebel is the editor of a *Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der Massenauswanderung im Jahr 1709*. Of special

interest to Iowans is a monograph of one hundred and seven pages on *The Germans of Iowa and the "Two-Year" Amendment of Massachusetts*, by F. I. Herriott.

Two contributions make up the contents of the *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* for June, namely: an article on the *Presbyterian Churches of Philadelphia: Their Organization and Changes of Location and Name*, by William P. White; and the fourth installment of the *Letters and Reports of the Rev. John Philip Boehm*, translated and edited by William J. Hinke. In the September number there are continuations of the letters and reports just mentioned, and of the *History of the Presbytery of New Brunswick*, by George H. Ingram; as well as *Some Hitherto Unpublished Letters of Prof. Archibald Alexander*.

A biographical sketch of *Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier*, by Horace Wells Sellers, including a journal kept by Peale during the Revolution, occupies the opening pages in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July. Following this there are some *Selections from the Correspondence Between Hugh Roberts and Benjamin Franklin*. John W. Jordan writes on *Nazareth, Penna., During the Revolution, 1775-1779*. Another document of considerable interest consists of *Instructions of Queen Anne to Col. Samuel Vetch for the Organization of a Colonial Contingent for the Conquest of Canada, 1708*.

The opening pages of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September are occupied with a biographical sketch of *General John Strickler*, by John Strickler, Jr. Richard Henry Spencer is the writer of an article on *The Provincial Flag of Maryland*. Joseph B. Seth presents a paper on "*The Rich Neck*", a *Prominent Manor in the Days of the Colony*. Other contributions are a continuation of the *Letters of Jonathan Boucher*; some correspondence relative to *Provisioning the Continental Army*; the instructions to William Johnson concerning the *Expedition Against Crown Point* in 1755; part two of the article on *Van Buren's Maryland Correspondents*, by Bernard C. Steiner; a list of accounts for quartering soldiers during the French and Indian War; and the concluding installment of *Land Notes, 1634-1655*.

Volume seven, part three of the *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society* contains *The Spanish Official Account of the Attack on the Colony of Georgia, in America, and of its Defeat on St. Simons Island by General James Oglethorpe*. Letters, orders, diaries, and reports make up the papers contained in the volume, and they relate to an episode which was fraught with danger to the English colony of Georgia. Volume eight of the *Collections* is taken up with the *Letters of Joseph Clay, Merchant of Savannah, 1776-1793*, which present an excellent view of the Revolutionary War in the South.

The January and February numbers of the *Quarterly of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* are combined into one issue devoted to the publication of a number of *Burr-Blennerhassett Documents*, edited by Lesley Henshaw. The documents consist of testimony prepared for the Blennerhassett trial in Ohio which was to have been held in January, 1808. "There is nothing remarkably new added by them to the mass of testimony already in print", says the editor, "but there are some marked differences which justify publication, aside from the fact that these are original material."

The July number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* opens with an article on *The Early Courts of Chicago and Cook County*, by Orrin N. Carter. Then follows a discussion of *New Jersey Families in Illinois: The Casad and Stites Families*, by Edmund J. James. A paper on *The Name of Lincoln*, by Kate Brainerd Rogers, is of general interest. Two other contributions are a list of *Soldiers of the American Revolution Buried in Illinois*, compiled by Mrs. E. S. Walker; and an article on *Summerfield School: Pioneer — Grafton Road, Madison County, Illinois*, by G. Frank Long.

A second installment of the *Journal of John Work*, with introduction and notes by T. C. Elliott, covering the period from September 7 to December 14, 1825, appears in the July number of *The Washington Historical Quarterly*. An interesting paper on *The Columbia River Under Hudson's Bay Company Rule* is contributed

by C. O. Ermatinger. The concluding article is Edmond S. Meany's presidential address before the special meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association in May, 1914, on *Three Diplomats Prominent in the Oregon Question*, namely, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin. Under the head of Documents there is a continuation of *A New Vancouver Journal*, edited by Edmond S. Meany.

Some interesting and valuable papers are to be found in volume seven of the *Historical Records and Studies* published by the United States Catholic Historical Society. The first two papers have a special bearing on the history of the Mississippi Valley: *The Sul-picians in the United States*, by Charles G. Herbermann; and *Le Moyne D'Iberville*, by Thomas J. Campbell. Other papers are: *Pierre D'Ailly and the Discovery of America*, by Louis Salembier; *A Catholic University and Its Founders*, by Michael J. O'Connor, dealing with Creighton College at Omaha and early Catholic missions in that vicinity; *The San Blas Indians*, by Henry C. Pouget; *Fra Junipero Serra and the California Missions*, by Ann Judge; and *Was Columbus a Spaniard and a Jew?*, by Henry Vignaud.

Among the papers in number twenty-two of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* are the following: *Judah Monis, First Instructor in Hebrew at Harvard University*, by Lee M. Friedman; *Some Phases of the Condition of the Jews in Spain in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, by Abraham A. Newman; *The Correspondence of Jews with President Martin Van Buren*, contributed by Albert M. Friedenberg; *America in Hebrew Literature*, by Mendel Silber; *Jews in the Legal and Medical Professions in America Prior to 1800*, by Leon Hühner; and *Notes on American Jewish History*, by D. de Sola Pool. The material in the first twenty numbers of the *Publications* is now made accessible by an index which makes a separate volume of over six hundred pages.

The belated December, 1913, number of *The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* opens with some *Reminiscences of Captain William P. Gray*, who was born in Oregon City in 1845, contributed by Fred Lockley. Then follow a number of *Letters of Burr Osborn*,

Survivor of the Howison Expedition to Oregon, 1846, edited by George H. Himes. Finally, there is the *Journal of Alexander Ross — Snake Country Expedition, 1824*, edited by T. C. Elliott. All of these contributions are valuable as source materials on the early history of Oregon. In the March number there is an address on *Old Fort Okanogan and the Okanogan Trail*, by William C. Brown. The *Journal of David Thompson*, who made a journey in 1811 from Kettle Falls on the Columbia River to Astoria and return, is presented with editorial introduction and notes by T. C. Elliott. In conclusion there is an *Address Delivered at the Dedication of Grand Ronde Military Block House at Dayton City Park, Oregon, Aug. 23, 1912*, by M. C. George.

"*The Toon o' Maxwell*"—*An Owen Settlement in Lambton County, Ont.*, by John Morrison; *The War of 1812-1815*, by J. Castell Hopkins; *The Past and Present Fortifications at Kingston*, by George R. Dolan; *Capt. Joseph Brant's Status as a Chief, and Some of his Descendants*, by Gordon J. Smith; *Chief John Smoke Johnson*, by Evelyn H. C. Johnson; *Influence of the War of 1812 upon the Settlement of the Canadian West*, by Lawrence J. Burpee; *The History of the American Indians in Relation to Health*, by Peter H. Bryce; *Bush Life in the Ottawa Valley Eighty Years Ago*, by John May; *David Zeisberger and his Delaware Indians*, by John Morrison; *Tribal Divisions of the Indians of Ontario*, by Alexander Francis Chamberlain; *Bear Customs of the Cree and other Algonkin Indians of Northern Ontario*, by Alanson Skinner; and *An Introductory Enquiry in the Study of Ojibwa Religion*, by Paul Radin, are among the contributions in volume twelve of the *Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records*.

Milo M. Quaife is the writer of an article entitled *Critical Evaluation of the Sources for Western History* which opens the September number of *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. The discussion is confined chiefly to the works of Jonathan Carver, and George W. Ogden. *The Dispersion of the American Tories* is the title of a paper by Wilbur H. Siebert. William O. Scroggs presents a concise account of *William Walker's Designs on Cuba*. An interesting discussion of *The Pan-American Policy of Jefferson and Wilkinson* is

written by Isaac Joslin Cox. Finally, there is a survey of *Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest and Western Canada, 1913-1914*, by Dan Elbert Clark. Under the heading of *Notes and Documents* Frank E. Melvin makes some comments relative to Dr. Daniel Coxe and Carolana; Louise Phelps Kellogg contributes an article written by Lyman C. Draper on *John Peter Sallings's Adventures*, and a memorial and other documents asking for the establishment of a State west of the Alleghanies in 1780; there are some letters concerning events and conditions in the Northwest in 1833-1835; Orin G. Libby communicates a note concerning early German settlers on the lower Missouri; and Milo M. Quaife contributes an anonymous diary of the War of 1812.

The April number of the *Annals of Iowa* opens with a brief appreciation of William B. Allison, revised and adapted from a memorial address delivered in the United States Senate in February, 1909, by Henry Cabot Lodge. Frank M. Mills relates some incidents connected with *Early Commercial Travelling in Iowa*. W. A. Duckworth is the writer of an article entitled *A Republic Within the Confederacy and Other Recollections of 1864*. Under the heading of *The Writings of Judge George G. Wright* may be found brief biographical sketches of Nathaniel B. Baker, Jonathan W. Cattell, and Stewart Goodrell. Finally, there is the concluding installment of Alonzo Abernethy's study of *Early Iowa Indian Treaties and Boundaries*. In the July number Charles Keyes discusses the *Foundation of Modern Geologic Science in America*. Under the heading of *Some Additional Materials on the Spirit Lake Massacre* are three articles dealing with phases of that tragedy. Another installment of *The Writings of Judge George G. Wright* contains sketches of the careers of Bernhart Henn and Cyrus Walker. Then comes another chapter on *Jefferson County Politics Before the Civil War* from the forthcoming history of Jefferson County by Charles J. Fulton. In conclusion, there are some selections from the "*Private Archives*" of Governor Kirkwood, edited by Edgar R. Harlan.

ACTIVITIES

More than six thousand three hundred books and pamphlets, and more than nine thousand manuscripts were added to the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania during the year 1913.

The Jefferson County Historical Society held a meeting on September 2, 1914. Mr. Hiram Heaton made a report relative to historical sites in the county, and Dr. T. L. James read a tribute to the memory of Lafayette.

At the annual meeting of The Maryland Historical Society on February 9, 1914, Mr. Edwin Warfield was elected president. The membership of the Society at the close of the year 1913 numbered six hundred and fourteen.

The room containing the collections of the Historical Society of Marshall County was kept open during the three days of the county fair in order that visitors might have an opportunity to examine the relics and other collections of material relating to the early history of the county.

The *Annual Report* of the Chicago Historical Society for the year ending October 31, 1913, contains a full account of the activities and progress of the Society during the year in question. In connection with the Perry Centennial Celebration the Society collected and exhibited a large number of books, pamphlets, portraits, and relics relative to Perry and his victory. The Society also participated in the commemoration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas, and in the erection of a tablet marking the site of the home of John Kinzie, Chicago's first civilian.

The fifteenth annual meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society was held at Springfield on May 7 and 8, 1914. Among the addresses was one on the *Destruction of Kaskaskia by the Mississippi River*, by J. H. Burnham. The officers and members of the board of directors who served during the past year were reelected. The Secretary's report shows that the total membership of the Society on May 7th was 1659. Various members of the Society occupy positions on the Centennial Commission which has in charge plans

for the celebration in 1918 of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Illinois into the Union.

HARRISON COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Harrison County Historical Society was organized at Magnolia on August 27, 1914. The following officers were chosen for the coming year: President, Judge Thomas Arthur of Logan; Vice President, Mr. A. H. Sniff of Missouri Valley; Secretary, Mr. Alma M. Fyrando of Magnolia; Treasurer, Mr. C. S. Isbell of Logan; Board of Directors, Mr. W. L. Stern of Logan, Mr. J. S. McGavern of Missouri Valley, Mr. L. H. Bassett of Little Sioux, Mr. Joseph Seddon of Persia, Mr. H. A. Kinney of Woodbine, Mrs. Nellie Moore of Dunlap, and Mrs. N. S. Lawrence of Magnolia.

The annual meeting of the Board of Directors is to be held on the second Monday in June in each year, and membership dues in the Society are one dollar a year.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA

Professor James E. Gow of Coe College at Cedar Rapids, a member of the Society, died on August 24, 1914.

The address by President Laenas G. Weld of the Pullman Institute on *Decisive Episodes in Western History* has been printed in pamphlet form by the Society and distributed to members.

A volume of two hundred and sixty-six pages on the *History of Township Government in Iowa*, written by Dr. C. R. Aurner, was distributed to members during the summer.

Mr. W. L. Reed of Des Moines, a member of The State Historical Society of Iowa, died on July 18, 1914. On August 10th occurred the death of Dr. J. L. Sawyers of Centerville, also a member of the Society.

Volume two in the *Iowa Applied History Series* is being prepared for publication early in the winter. It will contain short papers on ten or twelve subjects of a political, economic, or sociological character which are of current interest in Iowa.

Dr. John L. Gillin's *History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa*, which will make a volume of over four hundred pages, is now in press. This volume, which will be the first in the new *Iowa Social History Series*, will be followed by a volume on *Recent Social Legislation in Iowa*, by Mr. John E. Briggs.

William H. Ingham, a pioneer of Kossuth County and a man who took a prominent part in the defense of the northern border of Iowa against the Indians in the years following the Spirit Lake Massacre, died on July 28, 1914, at Olympia, Washington. Mr. Ingham was a member of The State Historical Society of Iowa.

The following persons have recently been elected to membership in the Society: Mr. H. C. Austin, Osage, Iowa; Miss Louise W. Hathaway, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; Mr. George F. Parker, New York City; Mr. G. M. Steele, Iowa City, Iowa; Miss Bessie L. Lyon, Webster City, Iowa; Mr. Frank Springer, Las Vegas, New Mexico; Mr. John B. Sullivan, Des Moines, Iowa.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A homecoming of Iowa authors, artists, and journalists was held at Des Moines, October 5th to 7th, 1914.

At West Branch, Iowa, the Fourth of July was celebrated by a pageant depicting scenes in the early history of Cedar County.

Citizens of Davenport, Iowa, are interested in a project to secure funds for a monument to mark the site of the Battle of Credit Island, fought in September, 1814.

Histories of Black Hawk, Boone, and Marion counties are reported as in preparation; and a new history of Wapello County has recently appeared.

A marker on the site of Fort Purdy near Denison, erected by the Denison Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, was unveiled on September 15, 1914.

The annual homecoming of the old settlers of Madison and Warren counties was held at St. Charles on August 20, 1914.

The Iowa Society of the Sons of the American Revolution has renewed its offer to present medals to the student in each of twenty colleges of Iowa who shows the highest proficiency in the study of United States history during the current school year.

Exercises commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Credit Island were held on the island at Davenport on September 6, 1914.

The city of St. Louis celebrated the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its founding on May 29-31, 1914, by a splendid pageant and masque, depicting various features of the early history of the city. Percy Mackaye is the writer of the masque, which was enacted on a large open-air stage.

A skeleton, thought to be that of Joel Howe, one of the victims of the Spirit Lake Massacre, was unearthed during the summer near the scene of the tragedy.

A complete collection of the engineers' field notes and maps pertaining to the survey of the Iowa-Minnesota boundary line has been made by the State Land Office at Des Moines.

On the evening of September 23, 1914, Dr. Truman Michelson delivered an address on "The Fox Indians" before the Davenport Academy of Sciences. Dr. Michelson in behalf of the Smithsonian Institution has spent several summers among the members of this tribe of Indians now living in Tama County, Iowa.

CONTRIBUTORS

JACOB VAN DER ZEE, Research Associate in The State Historical Society of Iowa, and Instructor in Political Science in the State University of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1913, p. 142.)

LOUIS PELZER, Assistant Professor of American History in the State University of Iowa. (See THE IOWA JOURNAL OF HISTORY AND POLITICS for January, 1913, p. 142.)

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